

CHAPTER I

HINDU HISTORIOGRAPHY—ITS CHARACTERISTICS AND RAMIFICATIONS

The word 'history' is derived from the Greek word 'istoria' or Latin word 'historia' which means learning by inquiry or investigation. Ideas on history have changed from age to age, from country to country and at times from writer to writer. It is a far cry from the theocratic and mythical conception of history in Mesopotamia (c. 2500 B.C.) to the scientific, humanistic, rational, self-revelatory and interpretative history of 20th century A.D. History is scientific, because it is a kind of research or inquiry, answering of questions. It is humanistic, being concerned with exploits performed by or actions of human beings in the past. It is rational, because it proceeds by interpretation of evidence. It is self-revelatory, because the object of history is human self-knowledge,—it teaches what man is and what man has done.¹ Man is eager to know everything. He is eager to know himself,—not only his physical nature but also his mind. History is the re-enactment of past experience.² The results of the enquiry must be told in a manner that appeals to men. It must be readable. Hence it cannot altogether be dissociated from literature and philosophy. Here comes the question of style. Further history is no longer regarded as the story of kings or ministers, of wars and bloodshed, but has to be a story of the people as well, of the workings of their mind and 'manus', of their weal and woe. History must not be merely political history. It has to be scientific and critical,—interpretative of the society and culture of the people.³

How does Medieval India (c. 700-1750) stand when judged by these tests? What was the idea of History then? What was the attitude of Indians to History in general and Indian History in particular during this period?

Medieval Indian historiography was not wholly a continuation of ancient Indian conceptions of History as medieval European history was in a way a continuation of Hellenistic and Roman historiography.⁴ The advent of the Muslims and the

establishment of Turkish rule in India constituted a seminal age in Indian history. Corresponding to the social dichotomy of the period there was a dichotomy in medieval Indian historiography as well. For one thing, so far as the Hindus were concerned, there was continuation of the earlier Hindu conception of **Itihāsa** in the widest sense.⁵ For another, the Muslims introduced fairly well developed ideas of historiography into India's intellectual history.

SECTION 1 : KALHANA

Ancient India suffered from paucity of professed histories though there existed various categories of sources—literary or otherwise. Archives and genealogies of rulers might have been maintained in every important Hindu court. But Kashmir is the only area of India with a tradition of historical writing. The Kashmir historian, Kalhana, the author of **Rajatarangini** (wr. A. D. 1148-9), stands alone among Hindu historians, ancient and medieval, and notwithstanding some defects, occupies an honoured place among the front-rank historians of ancient and medieval ages in the world. As Dr. R. C. Majumdar aptly remarks: "Both in the theory and in its practical application, Kalhana's **Rajatarangini** shows the high water-mark of historical knowledge reached by the ancient Hindus."⁶ But the standard set by Kalhana was not reached by any other Hindu historian of the medieval period, just as the lines chalked out by Ibn Khaldun do not appear to have been worked out by any other Arabic writer.

SECTION 2: RAJPUT BARDIC LITERATURE AND LATER RAJASTHANI SOURCES

Indian bardic literature goes back to antiquity and is based on oral tradition and records, written in Dingala (a form of archaic Rajasthani) and Pingala (Brajabhāsa), and maintained by professional bards and genealogists. The bards, who were generally eye witnesses of the deeds of their patrons, preserved their genealogical records and passed them to their own sons and the chain continued in the family. According to Tessitori, who undertook a systematic survey of this literature (1914-19) neither Forbes nor Tod undertook any critical analysis of their

sources, which must be divided into two broad categories—bardic poetry and prose chronicles. Bardic poetry includes historical poems—the Raesas (poetical legends) and commemorative songs of Charans and Bhats. The prose chronicles were subdivided into chronicles proper (Khyat) and genealogies (pidhiyavali). These were not produced by bards, but by trained officials and genealogists respectively.

Rajput ballads :

Though conscious of their defects, Tod had to rely mainly on the bardic chronicles of Rajasthan written in the form of ballads or 'heroic poems', because of the absence of better materials and because sometimes these supply valuable information : 'the works of the native bards afford many valuable data, in facts, incidents, religious opinions, and traits of manners ; many of which, being carelessly introduced are thence to be regarded as the least suspicious kind of historical evidence'. These, however, had their characteristic limitations, containing much that is merely poetical effusions ; (i) their fidelity is 'somewhat impaired' because there was a "sort of compact or understanding between the bard and the prince, 'a barter of solid pudding against empty praise'"; (ii) these are "confined almost exclusively to the martial exploits of the heroes and to the 'rang-ran-bhum' or field of slaughter. Writing for the amusement of a war-like race, the authors disregard civil matters and the arts and pursuits of peaceful life ; love and war are their favourite themes". (iii) "the bard enters too deeply into the intrigues as well as the levities of the court, to be qualified to pronounce a sober judgment upon its acts." (Tod). Apart from heroic poems, there were 'Raesas' or poetical legends of princes . . . local Puranas, religious comments, and traditionary couplets . . . ' According to S. C. Dutt, "The quasi-historical poems and commemorative songs of the 'charanas' rather magnify, as they are expected to do, the achievements of the princes and the people have left few spokesmen".

Prose chronicles :

The genealogies contain history of names without dates, are as old as the Puranas and are largely correct, if not of fabulous antiquity. But it is the Khyats or chronicles proper which cons-

tituted the history of a Rajput state in chronological order, growing up about the end of the 16th century, the impulse coming from the Mughal historiography of Akbar's age. Contact with the Mughals taught the Rajputs the art of writing comprehensive historical chronicles. These objective narratives were written by trained officials. Muhnot Nainsi compiled his 'Khyat' during 1650-66 A.D. Though not strictly historical, it is an embodiment of much information gleaned from documents (from 'Khyats' of bards, traditions and 'vamsavalis', in old Marwari and Dingal), preserved in the state archives of Rajputana for nearly two centuries at least. Here falsehood is mixed up with genuine historical matter. 'Nainsi does not exaggerate or minimise; he is a truthful recorder of events and, therefore, his work despite its defects has much historical value.' During the 18th and 19th centuries a change came as the Rajput princes had poetic chronicles written. It was on these that Tod, unaware of the real chronicles, depended.

The bardic literature contains much historical material but does not constitute history. According to Forbes it is accurate for social conditions but defective for chronology. Professor Haimendorf has summed up the historical value of this literature: 'While it is doubtful whether a study of bardic literature, whether recorded in writing or handed down by oral tradition, could throw very much new light on the political history of India, it is probable that this literature, only small parts of which have become known in the West, will be found to constitute a valuable repository of information on the cultural history of feudal times.'

For the first half of the eighteenth century we have both archival material and historical literature. Archival records in different states of Rajasthan are now mostly stored in Bikaner. These are 'Bahis' (rolled registers), 'kharitas' (portfolio files), 'khyats' (chronicles), vakil reports etc. One category of Bahis is **Bayava Bahis**; No. 1 gives information of Sawai Jai Singh's marriage with Bai Suraj Kunwar.⁷ **Jodhpur Rajya Ki Khyat** is important for this period. There are several Rajasthanī mss. about Abhai Singh, (i) **Suraj Prakash** by Karni Dan, (ii) **Raj Rupak** by Vir Bhan (now printed by Nagari Pracharini Sabha). There are two contemporary Sanskrit sources about Ajit Singh e.g. (i) **Ajitodaya** by Bhatt Jagjivan, his court poet, (ii) **Ajitcha-**

rita by Bal Krishan, and one about Abhai Singh (**Abhaivilas** by Bhatt Jagjivan.) These are only a handful out of a heap. A perusal of recent works on Rajput history would enable one to have some idea of the mass of materials. The vakils of Amber used to send letters from the Mughal court to their kings and ministers which were known as Vakil Reports (1657-1719). These throw light on the relations of Amber with the Mughals and neighbouring States.

SECTION 3 : AHOM AND ASSAMESE BURANJIS

The Buranjis primarily deal with the reigns of Ahom kings for 600 years (1226-1826) with occasional glimpses of Shan rulers and princes prior to their advent in Assam. But there are also chronicles of other countries and powers with whom they come into contact. Thus the people of Assam possessed a form of historical literature. According to Dr. S. K. Bhuyan, the existence of such chronicles has helped 'to remove the blot in the escutcheon of India's cultural heritage occasioned by absence of direct historical literature.'

These were written originally in Ahom, the language of the rulers, but subsequently in Assamese (which became the court language). A knowledge of the Buranjis was considered to be an indispensable part of education and culture. Compiled under order of kings and of state dignitaries, these were based on state documents—the periodic reports transmitted to the court by military commanders and frontier governors, diplomatic epistles sent to and received from foreign rulers and allies, judicial and revenue papers submitted to the kings and ministers for their final orders and the day to day annals of the court which incorporated all the transactions done, important utterances made, and significant occurrences reported by reliable eye-witnesses'.

The author of the Buranji of Bahgaria Atan Buragohain, Prime Minister of Assam (1662-79), asked his readers to treat it as a very 'secret document' as its contents relate to the "mysteries of sovereigns". King Siva Singha (1717-44) ordered Manohar Bailung Phukan 'that the histories of his predecessors should be compiled, the succession of Ahom monarchs mentioned in detail, and the book called **Roopoot**; that the history should only contain the names and transactions of the Swarga-

deos'. These have been studied and edited by Dr S. K. Bhuyan and a few other scholars and the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies in Assam.⁸

SECTION 4: MARATHI BAKHARS AND SHAKAVALI

While the Peshwa period of Maratha history (1707-1802) is illuminated by 'a vast and varied mass of contemporary documents in English, Persian and Marathi', the royal period (1660-1700) suffers from 'an utter lack of state papers, detailed official histories, personal memoirs and public letters such as are plentiful in the case of Mughal history.' Though there are nine Bakhars or chronicles of Shivaji, there are 'no contemporary records of a truly historical nature' in Marathi for the Royal period. What exist are in the English, Persian, Portuguese and Rajasthani languages. The first Marathi narrative of Shivaji's career was completed by Dattaji, his official chronicler and recorder, Wagnis, about 1685. But the original text was lost. What remains of it are extracts made therefrom about a generation later which contain many interpolations and it is popularly called **91 Qalmi Bakhar** (narrative in 91 sections). The **Sabhasad Bakhar** (**Siva-Chhatrapatichen Charitra**) written at Rajaram's request at Jinji (1697) by Krishanji Anant Sabhasad, one of his officers, is 'the first in date and importance . . . the only work that can claim to be contemporary' (Sen). It is 'the earliest Marathi account of Shivaji preserved intact' and 'is free from many of the legends and supernatural elements which bring discredit to the **91 Qalmi Bakhar** and its author gives evidence of a higher intellect than Malkare's.' But even the **Sabhasad Bakhar**, though written by a contemporary of Shivaji, is not based on state-papers and written notes . . . is entirely derived from his memory—the half-obliterated memory of an old man 'who had passed through many privations and hardships'. Nevertheless Sabhasad 'is still the most valuable Marathi account of Shivaji and our main source of information from the Maratha side' (Sarkar).

The **Chitnis Bakhar** by Malhar Ram Rao Chitnis sometimes gives additional details (of doubtful value) and its account of the administrative system is more detailed than Sabhasad. But its introduction was evidently an interpolation. He wrote

130 years after Shivaji's death and had 'no independent source of information'.

The 'most voluminous Bakhar' is **Siva-digvijaya**, in which some modern Marathi writers place considerable trust. Neither Dr S. N. Sen nor Sir J. N. Sarkar regards it as a modern work and accepts its alleged authorship and date. Sir J. N. Sarkar has categorised it as one of the later biographies or 'bogus bakhars', which 'mostly copies the Sabhasad Bakhar and padded it out with Sanskrit quotations, miracles, rhetorical flourishes, commonplaces remarks, and details imagined from the probabilities of the case, and in some cases also forged letters'.

The **Jedhayanchi Shakavali** or **Jedhe Shakavali** is a valuable chronological record of important points of historical interest for the seventeenth century Deccan (from the birth of Aurangzeb to the siege of Jinji, 1697) maintained by the prominent Jedhe family of deshmukhs of Kari, who went over from Bijapur to Shivaji.

Besides the Bakhars there are some contemporary Sanskrit laudatory poems about Shivaji, about the value of which scholars differ. Sri J. N. Sarkar writes that 'only two of them are of historical value . . . the rest are worthless.' Among the latter he places **Shiva-Bharat** by Shivaji's court-poet, Paramananda, and characterises it as 'merely a laudatory poem written by a court flatterer', as the author 'beats Abul Fazl hollow in the exaggerated praise of his patron' and 'ascribes supernatural feats to his hero'. The view held by Patwardhan and Rawlinson about it is more moderate. They take for granted that it was a poem by a courtier, prone to exaggerate the smallest exploit of his patron. But they give a very high place to it, as 'the historical framework which remains is found to be remarkably accurate, confirmed, as it is, at places, by contemporary records, Maratha or English—there is here none of that confusion of chronological sequence, which one finds even in the best of the Bakhars.'

There are valuable collections of letters and documents of the time of Shivaji: **Sivakalin Patra Sar Sangraha**; **Siva-charitra-Sahitya**; and **Siva-charitra-Pradipa**. Though the royal period of Maratha history (1660-1700) suffers from 'utter lack' of original sources, as mentioned earlier, the Peshwa period (1707-1802) has plenty of contemporary documents. The Mara-

thi Bakhars or chronicles, composed later than the events recorded, are generally not rated high by some scholars. But they cannot be completely dispensed with and have to be used critically. Krishnaji Shyam Rao, author of **Bhao Sahibanchi Bakhar**, lived at Indraprastha near Delhi and knew Hindi and was familiar with the affairs of the Rajputs, Jats and Ruhelas. This has been edited by Sankar Narayan Joshi (1972).

Bands of devoted Maratha workers since the time of Rajwade have unearthed a huge mass of Marathi records and letters. The Bharat Itihas Samsodhak Mandal, Poona, has been publishing such documents. A few sources are listed below : Chitnis, Chhatrapati Sahu Maharaj.

V. K. Rajwade, *Marathi Itihasanchi Sadhanen* (21 vols.), collection of Marathi sources since 1898 to correct Grant Duff's mistakes.

Brahmendra Swamichen Charitra, ed. by Parasnis.

Letters of Brahmendra Swami (printed by Parasnis and Rajwade. Delh'-Yethil Mara, Rajkaranen, despatches of the Maratha envoy at Delhi, Hingane, ed. by D. B. Parasnis, 2 vols. valuable for dates and events.

Hingane Daftar, vol. 1 ed. by G. S. Sardesai.

Selections from Peshwa Daftar, (45 vols.) ed. by G. S. Sardesai—reports of Maratha agents in Delhi and other places. Valuable for dates and events.

Marathi Riyasat, by G. S. Sardesai.

Aitihasik Patren Yad i Wagharia Lekha, 2nd ed. (1930) ed. by Sardesai and others.

Aitihasik Patra Vyavahar (1933), ed. by Sardesai and others.

Kavyetihās Sangraha Patren Yadi, 1930, ed. by Sardesai and others.

Selections from Satara Rajas' and the Peshwas' Diaries by G. C. Wad, D. B. Parasnis, vols. 1-6, 10.

V. V. Kharc, *Aitihasik Lekha Sangraha*, (1897).

Purandare Daftar, ed. by K. V. Purandare, 3 vols.

Chandrachud Daftar, ed. by D. V. Apte, vol. 1, B.I.S. Mandal; Poona, 1920 (Selections therefrom, Gwalior Govt., 1934).

Holkar Shahi Itihasachin Sadhanen, ed. by B. B. Thakur, 2 vols.

Shindhe Shahi Itihasachin Sadhanen, ed. by A. B. Phalke, 4 vols.

SECTION 5: SIKH SOURCES

The historical literature of the Sikhs include works in Gurumukhi (e.g., **Adi Granth**, **Dasam Padshah Ka Granth**, **Gur So-bha**, **Gur Bilas**), the **Bachitra Natak**, Sakhi Books); and in Persian (e.g., **Zafarnamah**, **Zindaginamah**).

For the eighteenth century the Punjabi (Gurumukhi) sources have been listed by Hari Ram Gupta, Ganda Singh and Khushwant Singh in their respective books. **Panth Prakash** by Gyani Gyan Singh, a late 19th century work (1880), giving Sikh point of view and **Prachin Panth Prakash** by Ratan Singh Bhangu Shahid (c. 1830) deserve special mention.¹⁰

SECTION 6 : GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS :
LACK OF CRITICAL ACUMEN

We may thus conclude that neither the bardic literature of Rajputana, the ballads, the heroic poems, and the **Raesas** (or poetical legends of princes) on which Tod relied, the **Khyats** (or comprehensive historical chronicles) of medieval Rajasthan nor the Ahom and Assamese Buranjis (or chronicles) of Assam (1226-1826), neither the Maratha Bakhars nor the Sikh sources and Sakhi Books can strictly be regarded as histories proper, though they constitute evidence for historical purposes and fall within the range of annalistic or quasi-historical literature. Weak in content these were also generally weaker in chronology. Nor was the science of historical criticism known to the medieval Rajput bards and the writers of the Ahom Buranjis and the Maratha Bakhars. Generally speaking, they were incapable of sifting evidence and over-credulous of divine and non-human agencies. They recorded what they heard or believed to be true,—to please the patron, or amuse the people. These limitations make these works unsuitable for political history. Further, modern ideas of social or economic history were unknown to the medieval Indian Hindu chroniclers.

But these Hindu historical or quasi-historical literature and non-Muslim works on literature, theology etc. possess a value of a different kind. In the first place, they contain valuable data for the social and cultural historian. In the second place they serve as a check on and sometimes as a supplement to Muslim chronicles and give incidental references on social aspects of the age.¹¹

CHAPTER II

MUSLIM HISTORIOGRAPHY

SECTION 1 : A NOVEL GIFT TO INDIA

The advent of the Muslims and the establishment of the Turks in India constituted a seminal age in Indian historiography. It added a new element to India's culture, viz., historical literature. Muslim historiography was, indeed, a novel gift of the Persianised Turks to contemporary Indian culture. It will be quite true to say that the Turks introduced historiography as a form of culture into India. The plethora of historical chronicles in medieval India is in striking contrast to their paucity in the earlier period. 'The advent of Islam', writes Dodwell, 'begins a great series of Indian chronicles. Whereas Hindu history is a matter of archaeology, scrappy and almost incoherent, Muslim history possesses a wealth of documents which render it, if not complete at least intelligible . . . But the Muslim chronicles are far superior to our own (English) medieval chronicles. They are written for the most part not by monks but by men of affairs, often by contemporaries who had been and taken part in the events they recount . . . The Muslim period is one of vivid living men whereas the Hindu period is one of shadows'. Moreover, with its extensive and varied character (histories, biographies and letters etc.) and its accurate chronology, Muslim historiography set a model for Hindu rulers and writers to follow.¹ Again, medieval Indo-Muslim historiography reflected mainly two distinct traditions of history writing, Arab and Persian. So in order to understand its nature it is necessary to review the growth and analyse the characteristics of historical learning in Islam,—Arabic, Persian and Turkish historiography.²

SECTION 2: HISTORIOGRAPHY IN ISLAM—ITS CHARACTERISTICS AND RAMIFICATIONS.

Muslim historiography (**Ilm Al Ta'rikh**) constitutes a part of Muslim culture. Its study is both instructive and inspiring as

an aspect of world's intellectual history. The Arabic word 'Ta'rikh' means history in general, annals, chronicles as well as era, computation and date.³ The place of history in Arab learning is well summed up by Joseph Hell as follows: 'The intellectual activities of the Arabs group themselves into two main divisions: activities evoked by the predilections of the Arab nation e.g., theology, jurisprudence, philology and history, and activities evoked by an instinctive human desire for knowledge; e.g., philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, astrology, medicine, natural sciences, geography. . . .'

Muslim historiography began after the birth of Islam. True, the Arabs of pre-Islamic times cultivated four chief studies,—genealogies, history, interpretation of dreams and the science of stars. But to them, as among other primitive peoples, history was nothing but saga or ballad, half history, half legend, expressed in poetry and song,—'tribal, nomadic, warlike, obsessed with battle and vengeance, honour and booty, death and destiny, personal, family and tribal pride.' It was with the birth of Islam that the history of the Arabs and the proper history of Arabic literature began. As a religion Islam has a strong sense of history. The Quran (xi. 120) teaches the lessons of history by giving numerous warnings. The Prophet occupied an important 'place in the historic sequence of progressive revelations'. The significance of his mission was preserved in memory and record. The doctrine of Ijma (or consensus of the community) emphasized the importance of the community, whose history revealed a divine purpose. Later generations were stimulated to ascertain and assess the true facts of the early heroes and events of nascent Islam. Thus it is that history writing became one of the earliest disciplines pursued by the Arabs after the rise of Islam. The Arabs brought to bear inexhaustible industry in this task but took a long time to become historically minded. There was a strong feeling against writing down of traditions.

As a matter of fact, 'historiography was an acquired characteristic in Islam'. It began almost on a clean slate. Its sources were pre-Islamic: (oral) stories of the 'Ayyam' (Days); (oral) Traditions (or 'hadis', pious or legal) about the Prophet and his Companions; genealogical lists (used as army lists); poetical compositions (including ballads); the Quran and other

theological works. Arabic history developed naturally out of the needs of the times.⁴

Opinions of scholars about the formative influences on the history of Islamic historiography seem to have undergone a change in recent times. In discussing the extent of influence of Jewish and Christian elements on it, F. Rosenthal has pointed out that the Biblical tradition occupies an important place in Muslim historiography and that Muhammad's interest in history, which was identical with the Christian and Jewish conception of history, stimulated history-writing in Islam. Joseph Hell had once held that while Greek influence inspired Arabic medicine and philosophy, historiography followed the Persian example. Sassanid Persia had become the refuge of Greek scholars, escaping from the intellectual intolerance of the Byzantine empire during the fifth and sixth centuries. The Greek stimulus tended to revive interest in history in Persia. Chosroes I started the practice of having an official historiographer and the composition of *The Book of Kings (Khudai-Namah)* served as a model and source of information to Firdausi. The Arabic translation of this work (c. mid-8th century) disclosed to the Arabs the long and glorious history of subjugated Persia and stimulated their historical interest not only in their own past but also the past of conquered peoples. Secular Muslim scholarship was 'a continuation or offshoot of Sassanian culture', centring at Jundi-Shahpur school founded by Chosroes the Great (Naushirwan) (c. 550), and wider and more catholic than that of contemporary Byzantium. It would thus appear that the decisive influence behind the growth of history writing came from vanquished Persia. Thinking and literature in Islam were largely the gift of the Persians using Arabic as the vehicle of expression. Thus the beginnings of Arabic historiography were inspired by Persian models. But the influence of pre-Islamic Persian historical works on Arabic historiography is a subject of controversy. Professor Spuler rejects this view and holds that there is no evidence of the existence of written historical works in Persia at the time of Arab conquest which could have influenced historiography of Islam. Even the Persian Tabari followed Arabic methods as no others were known. Persian writers of history in Persian followed Arabic pattern. A distinctive Persian historical view is to be found in the epics rather than in historical

works, which, whether written in Arabic or Persian, continued to express the Arabic-Islamic historiographic view. A Persian historiographic pattern emerged in the Mongol period when Persian history was written exclusively in Persian. In fact Arabic historiography grew up independently of Greek and Persian histories and even of pre-Islamic Arabic chronicles.⁵

What was the vehicle of history writing by the Muslims? First, it was Arabic during the first few centuries of Islam. Even the Persians used it in writing city histories of Iran. Next came Persian. From the eleventh centuries the use of Arabic was limited to Arabic-speaking countries (Iraq to Spain), while a new historical literature grew up in the Persian language. It became the principal literary medium in Persia, Turkey, Central Asia and medieval India. The third major language to grow was Turkish.

Historical learning started under the Umayyads and ran along two separate parallel streams: the Islamic and the tribal. The first emanated from Medina, the second from Kufa and Basra. As regards the first it is to be observed that historical science was derived from tradition ('hadis') and the philologists. It started with the biographies of the Prophet and as a commentary on the Quran (with poetry as its vehicle). In fact the Arabs devoted themselves to the branches of learning inspired by religious motives. Islam liquidated the past and the Quran was the only Book to be, just as the French Revolution, in ushering a new age in Europe, liquidated the past in France (Margoliouth). During the period ranging from the end of the first century and the first half of the second century A.H. writing was resorted to in order to help memory and preserve traditions. The second stream sprang from interest in tribal activities. It was a continuation of the pre-Islamic sagas and genealogies. The settlement of the tribes in cities brought them together and fostered new interests. The 'Akhbaris' were the first historians in the second line.⁶

The classical period (c. 750-1000) of Arabic began with the foundation of Baghdad. Both historiography and literature began on a broad and dignified scale. The Muslim sources now came to be supplemented by the charters granted by the Abbasid rulers, recognising the rights of the conquered peoples. The earliest works written in the Abbasid period, which have been

preserved, included the following categories of works : (i) biography of the Prophet ('Sirah'), (ii) Books of Wars and Conquests ('maghazi'), (iii) genealogies ('ansab'), (iv) classified sketches ('tabaqat') or biographies. The earliest Arabic chronicles were in the form of collections of separate narrations, not running narratives. Gradually more sophisticated forms of historiography grew up viz., imperial and dynastic annals, universal histories, etc.

The third century A.H. (roughly the last decades of the 8th and first few decades of the 9th century A.D.) proved to be not only a most fertile period of Arabic literature but also a brilliant period in Abbasid historiography, comparable to the almost contemporary intellectual renaissance in the Carolingian empire. It witnessed the simultaneous development of Tradition, Law, Exegesis and History. About this time history had grown into favour among the Muslims. The conception of History also changed. History was to be written not merely from the religious point of view. A new kind of historical literature was needed to explore new spheres of knowledge, to bring in non-Muslim nations, and to make history popular. During the palmy days of the Abbasid Caliphate with the memory of the unity of Islam still fresh, the major theme of the historiography of the major writers was the entire Islamic domain. Baghdad was 'the focus of this pan-Islamic conception of historiography'. Thus arose Universal Compendiums. Baladhuri, Ya'qubi, Tabari,—all these third-century historians wrote continuous histories and not monographs. Their fundamental ideas were the unity of the experience of the 'Umma' (e.g. Baladhuri) and universal history (others).⁷

Now let us come to the categories of historical works in detail : (i) biographies : There were two distinct types of biographic tradition. One grew up in Medina, dealing with the biography of the Prophet. It was at the instance of Caliph Mansur that Muhammad Ibn Ishaq of Medina (d. 767), whose grandfather was one of the captives brought to Medina before 632, wrote the biography of the Prophet, which is not only the 'oldest biography', but also 'the oldest historical work'. Though the original is lost it has survived in the recension (c. 828 A.D.) of Ibn Hisham (d. 834). Biographical materials were collected for purposes of 'hadis' criticism. Ever since G. Weil disclosed

the 'Sirah' or biography of the Prophet to western scholarship in 1843, its value as an independent historical source has been a matter of controversy among scholars,—one group viz., Leone Caetani mainly accepting it, the other viz., Henri Lammens, Becker and Schacht rejecting it. Recently W. Montgomery Watt seems to veer round to the traditional view.

There was, however, a biographic tradition of a different sort, namely, the exploits of the conquering tribal aristocracy growing up in the military cities of Kufa and Basra in Iraq. Here flourished tribal historians, whose emphasis on the feats of their ancestors created a new interest in history.⁸

(ii) Books of Wars & Conquests ('the **maghazi** material') : Feelings of pride in the achievements of the community or clan or family, comparable to those of the pre-Islamic Bedouin, led the Muslims to preserve the 'maghāzi' material before the scholars worked on them. The wars of conquests were treated by Musa ibn Uqbah (d. 758), Al Waqidi of Medina (747-823 or 760-837), Al Mada'ini (d. 830-45), connected with Ctesiphon, the Egyptian ibn Abd al Hakam (d. 870-71) and the Arabic-writing Persian Al-Baladhuri (d.c. 892). Baladhuri was 'a most valuable authority for military history of the Saracens', for he synthesised different stories of conquests in his comprehensive work **Futuh al Buldan**. It was the 'first important work' of the scientific study of history. While Al Mada'ini looked mainly to the East, Al Baladhuri was interested in westward expansion of Islam.⁹

(iii) genealogies ('ansāb') : Like all Semitic peoples the Arabs set a great store on genealogy i.e., the lineage and traditions of their ancestors. Tribal rivalry affected the study of genealogy. The practice of 'isnād' or establishing a chain of narrators helped chronology.¹⁰

(iv) Islamic biographical literature : classified sketches ('**tabaqāt**') :

Biographical literature illustrates the importance of individuals in building Islam. Sir Hamilton Gibb holds that 'the biographical dictionary is a wholly indigenous creation of the Islamic community', differing both in conception and execution from the 'biographical sections of the Chinese dynastic histories and the Syrian (Christian) martyrologies'. Such dictionaries were composed in Arabic at the same time and in close touch with his-

torical works. For the study of Islamic culture these are of capital importance. First, for religious and intellectual life, including education and scientific activities, these supply the fullest details. Secondly, they supply data for social history and institutions and constitute the sole material for social activities and status of women. For economic aspects the earlier works are generally silent regarding agriculture and industrial arts, but later works in Mamluk period throw light on trade and economic activities also. Thirdly, regarding political history, they fill up gaps in/or supplement other sources where the latter are scanty or plentiful respectively. The oldest extent dictionary or book of classified biographies (lives of the Companions of the Prophet and their successors) was written by ibn Sad (d. 845), Secretary of Al Waqidi.¹¹ The conception of biography gradually became wider. The dictionaries became astonishingly of varied nature, so as to include individuals (Companions, reciters of the Quran, creators of tradition, poets, men of letters, physicians, qazis, mystics); while some were of annalistic type, i.e., collections of obituary notices in chronological order. But these works emphasized the communal aspects (i.e., of life of the community) more than the political, as we know from a distinguished later biographer, al-Sakhāwī (15th century A.D.). Ann K. S. Lambton has pointed out that in Persian biographical literature the 'ulama' loomed large, while ruling and official classes received scant attention. He considers this as illustrating a growing gulf between the community and the state.¹²

(v) Universal History or General History of the Muslim world :

Among the first formal historians were the Iranians, who derived their materials mostly from Arabic translations of Pahlavi books. The principal historians reflect Shi'ite leanings in varying degrees. (a) Ibn Qutayba (properly Muhammad ibn Muslim al Dinawari (d. 889) who spent the major part of his life at Baghdad and taught Tradition wrote **Kitab al Ma'arif**; (b) Abu Hanifah Ahmad ibn Dawud al Dinawari (d. 895), whose chief work (**al Akhbar al-Tiwal**) was a universal history from the Persian point of view. (c) ibn Wadih al Yaqubi (d. 891), geographer as well as historian, who wrote a compendium of universal history (872 A.D.) from the Shi'ite standpoint. He also wrote the first descriptive Geography, a prototype of similar works

Gradually the time became ripe for 'formal historical composition' (based on legends, traditions, biographies, genealogies and narratives) in chronological order, and following the Persian example. The **Ta'rikh** (annals) of al-Tabari (838-923), a native of Tabaristan, the greatest Muslim historian of 9th century and one of the greatest of all historians, constituted the first universal history. His views were moderate. After al-Tabari the greatest historian of Islam was al-Masudi (d. c. 956). Connected with the Mutazilites he was not free from Shiite bias. He was described as the 'Herodotus of the Arabs', travelling through Muhammadan countries for twenty years, and 'distinguished for catholicity of interest and international outlook'. His historical Encyclopaedia entitled **Muruj al-Zahab** ('Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems') is a veritable encyclopaedia and 'attests the largeness of his historical vision, which takes in, within its compass, not merely military history, but also literature, religion and culture in general' (Khuda Bukhsh). 'In this encyclopaedic historico-geographical work', writes Prof. Hitti, 'the author with catholicity and truly scientific curiosity carried his researches beyond the typically Muslim subjects into Indo-Persian, Roman and Jewish history and religion . . . He summarised his philosophy of history and nature and the current philosopher's views on the gradation between minerals, plants and animals in a work, comparable to Fliny's'. Indeed here Masudi combines 'instruction and amusement'.¹³

Arabic historical literature reached its highest point in Tabari and Masudi (fourth century A.H. or 10th c. A.D.). But the Arabs did not achieve much success in producing historical epics. 'Where the Arabs failed the Persians succeeded. Persian literature, in addition to great lyrical accomplishments, attained to outstanding mastery of epical narrative. The Persian was interested in and knew how to present action. History, romance, and mysticism yielded subject matter for elaborate storeytelling . . . The eleventh century 'added the romantic to the historical and the twelfth the mystic-didactic epic to the two earlier genres.' (Grunebaum).¹⁴ Firdausi (c. 935-1025), the greatest poet of medieval Persia, composed his national epic, the **Shahnama** (Book of Kings) in 1010.

Medieval Muslim historiography reflected two distinct traditions of history writing. The Arab historian's historical conspec-

tus was very wide, covering the entire range of society, politics, institutions and culture. He was not an official historian and his method was to write the history of the age according to certain accepted principles of ensuring accuracy. On the other hand the outlook of the Persian historian was narrower, being limited to the court and he aimed at writing the history of rulers, and equating it with the history of the age ; he tended to become a courtly flatterer of his royal patron.¹⁵

The divergence between Arabic and Persian historiography which was a matter of slow growth, widened from the 12th century A.D. The revival of Persian as a literary medium had begun under the Persian dynasties of the 10th century A.D. As Grunbaum says : "The Samanid century had created the language which Firdausi perfected and canonized : it had cultivated a sober and balanced taste in literary expression—jejune but graceful, fond of movement but careful of the bizarre, artful without artificiality..." Further, "Firdausi's success is primarily due to his tact in collecting and selecting. The sense of relevance was in tune with contemporary judgment. The very uncertainties of his attitude towards history must have helped to make his presentation universally acceptable . . ."¹⁶

The process of decline of Muslim culture was very gradual. The period of bloom passed away in the eleventh century. It began to wither away in the twelfth. The period from the tenth to thirteenth centuries was one of crisis in Islam. It had to wage a determined struggle against the triple challenge of heresy, Christendom and Heathenism. Shiism had raised its ominous head under the Shiite Buwayhids, Fatimids, the Twelvers and the Seveners, but ultimately there was a Sunni revival. The Crusades had come but were hurled back. The Mongol invasions had given a tremendous shock to West Asia and Muhammadan-Persian culture by destroying cities like Baghdad, Merv, Samarkand and their rich libraries. But the Mongols were converted to Islam. Thus eventually Islam tided over the crisis. Contemporary historical literature reflected the transformation in the Islamic state, society and culture caused by this crisis and conflict.

Baghdad under the Buwayhids retained its preminence for for some time. This period saw the works of Thabit b. Sinan, Hilal al Sabi and Miskawaihi. The work of the Persian Miska-

waihi (1030 or 1032) is mainly important for matters of taxation and finance, economic and social conditions. He was a vivacious narrator and one of the most instructive writers in Arabic. 'Tabari declines as he approaches his own times. Miskawaihi grows better in proportion as his narrative becomes contemporary. After Miskawaihi Arabic historical literature declined. The decline is discernible in the writings of Zahir al Sin Muhammad bin Husain Rudhrawarhi, Shaikh Abul Hasan Ali Ibn Abul Karam as Shai-bani surnamed Izzuddin, commonly known as ibn al Athir (al Jazari b. 555./1160, d. 1234) and abu-al Fida (1273-1321).¹⁷ Ibn al Athir's work **Kamil ut Tawarikh** or **Kamil fit Tarikh** or **Tarikh i Kamil**, a general history of the world from the earliest period to 628/1230 has, however, been highly praised by Ibn Khallikan while Ibn Khaldun borrowed from it. It has also been used and quoted both in Asia and Europe. The **Nizam ut Tawarikh** by Abu Said Abdullah bin Abul Hasan Ali Baizawi (b. at Baiza, near Shiraz), is also a book on general history. The date of his death is placed by scholars between 685/1286 and 699/1299-1300. The date of its composition is doubtful, between 674/1274-5 and 694/1294.

With the rise of new dynasties Arabic historiography gravitated to new centres of learning like Damascus, Aleppo, Mosul and Cairo. Due to the anti-Shia reaction in Syria, Mesopotamia and (post-Fatimid) Egypt, the study of history was not included in the curriculum of the madrasas, which were Sunni institutions. This implied a return to the old orthodox method of religious studies (i.e., to the Quran and the 'hadis' and co-related subjects like 'fiqh', grammar etc.). Many of the 'ulama' disparaged history which was full of stories and anecdotes. Nevertheless historiography flourished. Some 'ulama' found a religious justification for their personal interest in history; other 'ulama' holding official posts, or connected with political and military affairs, contributed much to historiography by using official documents and supplying documentary material in their compositions. History writing was also patronised by some Sultans, or nobles or persons in authority. Thus, historical studies, though not positively encouraged, enjoyed semi-official support. The religious and oral tradition-oriented historiography of the earlier period yielded place to a newer and more sophisticated type, written on the basis of official documents by bureaucrats for their compeers.

Another significant change in historiography took place under the Turkish dynasties. History continued to be a necessary part of the education of a civil servant and came to be written from that standpoint to some extent, but the pious madrasa-trained functionary of post-Seljuq period differed from the elegant and worldwise 'Katib' of Abbasid period.

Some scholars hold that the period ranging from mid-11th to mid-12th century, including the rule of the later Abbasids and of Seljuq domination (1037-92, in Iraqi-Iranian region, which constituted 'the vestibule of the Crusades', was not productive of great histories. But this seems to be an underestimate. Claude Cahen has shown that about the time of the advent of the Seljuqs, three varieties of historiography—pan-Islamic, regional and dynastic—and two languages, Arabic and Persian, flourished in the territories where they settled. Again, the martial exploits of the Zangids and Ayyubids (1127-1250) in the Syria-Egyptian region stimulated history writing. Abundant especially are the sources on Saladin. The Crusading period itself stimulated history writing in the Muslim world as in the West. Not only did history become popular but its scope was widened, the authors being men of high rank, participating in some events described.¹⁸

There were six forms or types of historiography during this period :

(1) Universal history :

The principal writers were Ibn al Asir (d. 1233) whose work (**al Kamil**) throws light on Iraqi-Irani historiography of 12th century ; and Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzi (1185-1257), the Hanbali doctor turned Hanafi, whose work (**Mirat al-Zaman**) comes up to 1257 and who combines biographical accounts (of 'ulama') with purely historical works.

(2) Regional and local history :

As the heroic age of Islam receded more and more, as the Muslim world tended to split up into separate political units, mutually hostile (not only in politics but also in religion), the tendency to write provincial or local history grew up among many historians. Sometimes the contents of these histories ranged beyond defined areas. Regional consciousness grew as each autonomous amirate in Syria and Mesopotamia had to defend itself against aggression of neighbours. Depending largely on the 'iqta' system, the Zangid and Ayyubid governments could

not be hostile to this regional sentiment, while under the Ayyubids after Saladin such regimes revived with their mutual animosities. Hence in these separate regions e.g., in Egypt, Spain, Yemen, etc., grew the conception of separate chronicles. Not only countries and provinces, but even cities came to have each its particular history and separate historian. From 10th century (and earlier in Mecca) city histories were written out of civic pride or autonomy, e.g., Ibn Yusuf Maqrizi ; Al Khatib (1022-93) —History of Baghdad ; Ibn bin al Haan (1129-1201)—History of Damascus ; Kamaluddin—History of Aleppo. It has, however, to be stated that a considerable part of this local history was more antiquarian than properly historical. Dynastic history also came to be written in some cases.

Local history may be subdivided under the following subsections :

(a) Chronological works : Hamza ibn al Qalānisi (d. 1160), a Damascus official, wrote the Damascus Chronicle (1056-1160), presumably on the basis of archival material. It dealt with the first and second Crusades, and was the only contemporary Arab record of the First Crusade.

Abu Shama (1203-1268), 'the traditionist, jurist, grammarian and historian', followed the Traditionist method and wrote 'to prepare his soul for its inevitable destiny'. His **al-Rawdatayn** deals with the times of Nuruddin and Saladin.

(b) Biographical Works :

Ibn 'Asākir (1105-1175) wrote a topographical account of Damascus and a dictionary of famous men there (**Tarikh Dimashq**, in 80 vols.); Kamaluddin, a wazir under the Ayyubids, wrote on the topography and History of Aleppo in the form of a biographical dictionary.

(c) Biography and history combined : Abu Shama wrote an appendix to his history (**al Muzayyal 'ala al-rawdatayn**), which covers the period 1193-1266, combines political and biographical accounts mostly centered in and around Damascus.

(3) Biographical works, which were either (a) of a general nature, —Yaqut (**Irshad al-adib**) ; the learned but anti-Fatimid Ibn Khallikan (1211-'82) (**Wafayat**, Obituaries of Eminent Men), the earliest general biographical dictionary in Arabic or (b) of some classes of people, Yaqut al Hamawi (c. 1175-1229), the geographer writing on the Mongols; Ibn al Athir (d. 1234) compiled two

biographical dictionaries of the Companions and the Traditionists (**Usd al-ghaba, al Lubab**) but does not mention his sources and 'isnād'; Ibn Abi Usaybi'a on doctors (**'Uyun al-anba'**).

(4) Monographs were written either on individuals or on dynasties. While Ibn Shaddād (d. 1234) wrote on Saladin (**al-Nawadir**), Ibn Wasil dealt with the Ayyubids (**Mufarriz**); and Ibn al Athir with the Atabegs of Mosul (1084-1211) (**al-Bahir**). An officer under Saladin, he had access to documents. This is a check on Bahauddin (1145-1235) of Mosul, Qazi at Jerusalem and Aleppo, a diplomat.

(5) Autobiographies :

Usama ibn Munqidh (1095-1188), a cultured Syrian noble wrote his interesting Autobiography which is an important source for the fixed Muslim and Christian culture of the Holy land in 12th century ; **Umara al-Yamini**.

(6) Administrative Manuals : The earliest of its kind on Muslim Egypt was compiled by Ibn Mammati (**Qawanin al-dawawin**).¹⁹

Historiography developed not only in the heart of the Islamic domain, but also in its peripheries like Turkestan, Egypt and Spain. Again it threw light on the history of several peoples like Mongols, Tartars and the Negroes.

Mahmud of Ghazni, himself illiterate, was a patron of learning who kidnapped scholars or exacted them as tribute.

Egypt, where historiography at first toed the line of Damascus and Baghdad, came to have a separate school under the Fatimids. Besides Al Qurashi (802-71) who wrote an interesting account of the Muslim conquest of Egypt (**Futuh Misr**), there were others : Al Kindi (d. 961), topographer and historian ; Ibn Zulak (d. 997) writing on history of the Qazis of Egypt ; El-Musebhihi (d. 1029), a civil official under Hakim writing a voluminous book on history of Egypt (26,000 pages) ; El Kudai'i (d. 1062), jurist and historian. But two factors limited this development : first, insecurity of public life, the rulers being whimsical or tyrannical ; second, orthodox scholars avoided this heretical country. Muslim historians did not ignore Christian subjects. The Armenian Abu Salith (Saleh) wrote on the Churches and Monasteries of Egypt. The best example in Coptic historiography, was a universal chronicle till 939 A.D. by Eutychius (Said bin Batrik) a Christianised Arab, and the Melchite patriarch of Alexandria (d. 940). It was continued by Yahya, a more thoroughgoing historian working in Antioch archives till 1027.²⁰

During the Mamluk period (1250-1517) the most brilliant period of historiography was the fifteenth century. An assiduous and voluminous writer, Takiya-al-Din Ahmed Makrizi (1365-1442) belonging to a Syrian family born in Cairo, struck a new line. His main work is an historical and topographical account of Egypt, particularly of Cairo. But he also wrote a 'History of the Musulman Kings of Abyssinia', a work on Muslim coins, on weights and measures, a 'History of the Expeditions of the Greeks and French' against Damietta (a primary source for St. Louis' Crusade), and a 'History of the Copts'. Baer ud Din Mahmud al-'Aini of Egypt flourished during the time of Baybars (1455-71). But the greatest writer of the period was Ibn Taghri Birdi (1411-69) who adopted the traditional methodology. At first he continued the work of Makrizi in two books: **Hawadis ad Duhur** (or 'Events of the Times') which continued the story up to 1468 and not up to 1453 as originally planned; the **Nujum az-Zahera** (or 'Brilliant Stars'), a collection of biographies of the greatest men in Islam. His **Annals** mainly deals with political events (official changes, insurrections, wars including campaigns against Timur, relations with the growing power of Ottoman Turks in Asia Minor and the Balkans, etc.) with great objectivity. But he reveals a philosophic type of mind like that of Ibn Khaldun—with the perception of what is valuable in history—and unusual interpretative power. What is important is his inclusion of economic data: prices, markets, coinage, taxation, looms, influence of administration on socio-economic life.²¹

In Muslim Spain there were histories as well as biographical works during 10th-13th centuries. Among the writers may be mentioned Ahmad ibn Muhammad ar Razi (d. 937), who wrote the earliest history of Muslim Spain, available in its Spanish recension, the oldest important monument of Spanish prose; Ibn Abd Rabbini of Cordova (d. 940), famous both as poet and historian; Arib bin Sa'd (c. 996), and Ibn Adhari (d. 1292). The fullest and most valuable history of Arab rule in Spain was that by Ahmad ibn Muhammad al Makkari (1581-1632), a native of Morocco.

Mongols and Tartars:

Whatever the Mongols wrote on Chinghiz and his successors have perished. The only surviving work in Mongol language is

that of Sanang Setsen, a Mongol convert to Buddhism (discovered in Tibet in 1820). The history of the Tartars in Tartar language was written in 17th century by Abul Ghazi Bahador Khan (1605-64), Khan of Khwarizm and a direct descendant of Chinghiz—"Genealogical History of the Mongols and Tartars".

Negroes :

Before the coming of the Arabs Africa south of the Sahara was an unknown country. The credit of penetrating to Central Africa and writing of the history of Negroland belongs to the Arabs. The chief Muslim writers who have thrown light on the subject were Masudi (d. 956), Ibn Hauqal (d. 966), Abu El Bekri (d. 1094), Al Idrisi, Yaqut, Al Omari, Ibn Batutta (1304-77) and Ibn Khaldun.²³

Alone among medieval Muslim historians shines Ibn Khaldun as a star in lonely splendour. He occupies the same place in Muslim historiography as Thucydides in Greece, Tacitus in Rome, Otto of Freising in the Middle Ages. He was its greatest historian.

In fact the Arab historical works never attained to the loftier conception of history (Hell, 42), except in the work of the North African, Abdur Rahman ibn Muhammad Ibn Khaldun al Hadrami (1332-1406, born in Tunis, died at Cairo) who first formulated a comprehensive philosophy of Muslim history and laid down scientific principles of historiography. In critical spirit, depth and penetration of thought, Ibn Khaldun perhaps equals any western historian. G. W. Thatcher writes : "The great work by which he is known is a 'Universal History', but it deals more particularly with the history of the Arabs of Spain and Africa . . . It consists of three books, an introduction, and autobiography. Book I treats of the influence of civilization upon man ; Book II of the history of the Arabs and other peoples from the remotest antiquity until the author's own times ; Book III of the history of the Berber tribes and of the kingdoms founded by that race in North Africa. The introduction is an elaborate treatise on the science of history and the development of society, and the autobiography contains the history, not only of the author himself, but of his family and of the dynasties which ruled in Fez, Tunis, and Ilmecen during his lifetime." Curiously, however, this work (**Kitab al'Ibar**) does not illustrate these scientific principles. As

it treats the dynasties separately, there are repetitions. But it possesses 'unique value for the records of African affairs'. It is a dry and bare narrative of facts. However, in critical interpretation, depth of thought, breadth of view and style, his 'History of the Berbers and the Musulman Dynasties of North Africa' possessed that 'dignity of history' which was not realised in Europe till the time of Machiavelli and Guicciardini in the sixteenth century. His influence on succeeding Arabic historians was not much, none working on his lines.²⁴

To sum up, Muslim historiography started with Ibn Hisham, a contemporary of Mansur and culminated with Ibn Khaldun, a contemporary of Timur. Between them lay 'an apostolic succession.'²⁵

SECTION 3: NATURE OF MUSLIM HISTORIES

(a) *Conception of History:*

What was the Arabic historian's conception of the meaning of History? Though opinions differed as to how history should be written, all were unanimous that it was a record of events, which were chiefly though not exclusively the sayings and doings of man. These were classified according to three principles. The first principle of amount covered in space and time led to the distinction between universal histories and particular histories. The second principle of persons participating in the events resulted in the production of biographies (Sovereigns, Wazirs and eminent persons) though the line of distinction from history was faint. The third principle was to treat events as such, e.g., early history of Islam. Greek literature had parallels to all these forms of history.

(b) *Stages and Types of Historiography.*

From the point of view of evolution, the writers first composed history of Islam (the Prophet and the Arabian antiquity) and then passed on to universal histories, some of which were of giant size. But there were also regional or local histories (as those of Egypt, Syria, North Africa and Spain), dynastic histories (e.g., Khazaraji's 'History of the Rasulids of Yemen'), travel literature, city chronicles as those of Aleppo, Damascus, Medina,

Nisapur, Hamadhan, Herat, a rich biographical literature as well as autobiographies. Further, there were other sectional works on parties and religious sects, and even administrative manuals.²⁶

Muslim historiography embraced both biography and annals, but not literary history as a rule. It passed through various forms and stages :

(i) *Tradition :*

It started in the form of tradition ('hadis') under the Umayyads (661-750 A.D.).

(ii) *Monograph :*

It was the typical form down to the end of the 9th century (c. 750-892 A.D.). Ibn Ishaq wrote on biographies of the Prophet, al Waqidi and al Baladhuri on histories of wars of conquest, and Ibn Said on classified biographies.

(iii) *Chronological presentation.*

For the first 200 years up to the end of the 9th century A.D. the treatment of history conformed to the stereotyped religious tradition. But with Tabari (10th c. A.D.) "the idea of chronological collection of events developed into a plan of complete series of annals." (Hitti). Events were grouped under a year. This annalistic method was adopted by others after Tabari, chief of whom was Miskawaihi (d. 1030). The traditionist grew to be a chronicler.

(iv) *Topical method :*

The encyclopaedic Masudi (d.c. 956) introduced a new method by grouping events around kings, dynasties and topics instead of around years. It was followed by Ibn Khaldun and others but it was not as favoured as Tabari's annalistic method.

(v) *Topographical and Local History :*

Al Maqrizi (1364-1442) did not follow the traditional methods of historiography but emphasized the topography and antiquities of Cairo.

(vi) *Scientific*:

The principles of writing scientific history were first laid down among the Muslims by Ibn Khaldun of Tunis (1332-1406). "As regards the science or philosophy of history, Arabic literature was adorned by one most brilliant name. Neither the classical nor the medieval Christian world can show one of nearly the same brightness." (Flint). He was historian, political theorist, sociologist, economist, philosopher and a keen student of human affairs,—all rolled into one. A towering genius, he was 'admirable alike by his originality and sagacity, his profundity and his comprehensiveness.' He was the first to emphasize that history has to cover the entire social phenomena of human life. Sociologists would regard him as founder of social and economic interpretation of history, while political scientists would rank him with Aristotle. As he writes in his *Muqaddamah* (The Prolegomena): "History is the record of human society, or world civilization of the changes that take place in the nature of that society, such as savagery, sociability, and group solidarity; of revolutions and uprisings by one set of people against another with the resulting kingdoms and states, with their various ranks of the different activities and occupations of men, whether for gaining their livelihood or in the various sciences and crafts; and, in general, of all the transformations that society undergoes by its very nature. . ." (Vol. I, 56). Here he views history as a record of man's social development conditioned by physical and natural causes and the impact of environment on the individual and the group. According to Prof. Khuda Bakhsh, Ibn Khaldun wrote history "almost in modern style and on modern principles". His definition of history, its object and scope, treatment of the external conditions which act and react on national life, his observations on the civilizations of the Arabs, in fine, his whole method of treatment curiously anticipates the modern conception of the science of History. Margoliouth holds that "the initial volume of Prolegomena is unique in Arabic literature with few parallels in any that existed prior to the invention of printing, in that it embodies the author's generalizations drawn from the study of the records which form the subject of the following volumes. . ." According to Joseph Hell Ibn Khaldun "developed views savouring of modern times. All that Ibn

Khaldun has said about the influence of food and climate, says Von Kremer, has been worked out, from the modern point of view, by Buckle in his 'History of Civilization'. What the Arab thinker divined, the British publicist has proved: Between them, however, there is a gap of five hundred years. One wrote in the metropolis of the modern world, the other in North Africa." Europeans did not know him till late 19th century.

Besides philosophical speculations, the work is a 'useful compendium' of the subjects which occupied the attention of the Muslims outside politics. Thus, according to Ibn Khaldun "the function of History extended beyond the material which furnishes the analysts with their main topics; including literary, and scientific development, the origins of sects, and the like. . ." (Margoliouth).²⁷ About him Sarton has remarked: "Not only is he the greatest historian of the Middle Ages, towering like a giant over a tribe of pygmies, but one of the first philosophers of history, a forerunner of Machiavelli, Bodin, Vico, Comte and Curnot." Arnold J. Toynbee has paid the following tribute to his work: "Which can bear comparison with the work of Thucydides or the work of a Machiavelli for both breadth and profundity of vision as well as for sheer intellectual power. Ibn Khaldun's star shines the more brightly by contrast. . . for while Thucydides and Machiavelli and Clarendon are all brilliant representatives of brilliant times and places, Ibn Khaldun is the sole point of light in his quarter of the firmament. . . He has conceived and formulated a philosophy of history which is undoubtedly the greatest work of its kind that has ever yet been created by any mind in any time or place."²⁸

(vii) *Types of History.*

The approach of the Muslim historians to History has thus been analysed by Prof. P. K. Hitti: "To all Arabic chronicles political history was history **par excellence**; the economic and social aspects of life were touched upon only incidentally. Historical causation was mainly providential because of Allah's constant interference."

(c) *Value of Arab Histories:*

Great were the variety and volume of medieval Muslim historiography. It can easily match Christian historical litera-

ture in these aspects. The nature and value of Arab historians has thus been assessed by Prof. Margoliouth : "Gibbon's assertion²⁹ that the Arabic historian is either the dry chronicler or the flowery orator becomes true after Miskawaihi's time, but not before. It would not be true of Tabari, Masudi or Miskawaihi (d. 1032). In the vast range of universal, dynastic, regional and local chronicles which we possess there is of course great variety displayed in all the qualities which can enter into historical writing of any sort : accuracy, impartiality, discrimination, power of arresting the reader's attention and maintaining his interest. Of many Arabic historians it may be said that either their work is too mechanical, being the reproduction or possibly abridgment of texts or narratives which were before them or if time was devoted to the composition, it had been employed in literary artifices which would disappear in translation, and so might be said to affect the externals rather than the essence of the narrative. There is of course one notable exception to this : the work of Ibn Khaldun."

"In quantity and variety the Arabic historical composition was certainly not inferior to that of Greece, having indeed a far larger area to cover ; and if it exhibits few works which display brilliant intellectual ability or which are likely to acquire any wide popularity in translation, we must set in compensation of this the earnest desire which so many of the historians display to ascertain and record the exact truth and to refrain from distorting it with fanaticism or partisanship."³⁰

CHAPTER III

MEDIEVAL INDO-MUSLIM HISTORIOGRAPHY

During the medieval period Persian was not only the language of the Court but also of culture, patronised by Delhi as well by its succession states. It got maximum opportunities of development. All branches of Persian literature were fully represented in India—poetry, prose, belles-lettres, dictionaries, encyclopaedias, religious books, histories and chronicles, ranging from universal to local. In fact historical literature, a notable gift of the Persianised Turks to India, was not only extensive but varied.

What was the nature of history writing by Muslim writers in medieval India? It is possible to discern certain distinctive stages in the development of historical literature in or on medieval India corresponding to the broad stages of political development. These are (a) the period of Arab contact and conquest, 7th to 10th centuries A.D., (b) the period of the advent of the Turks and of Delhi Sultanate, 11th to 16th centuries A.D. and (c) the Mughal age, 16th to 18th centuries A.D. As a matter of fact medieval Muslim historiography in India¹ did not remain unchanged and static during the long period of one thousand years. Pre-Mughal and Mughal histories had, of course, certain things in common but they were cast in different moulds.

SECTION A: PERIOD OF ARAB CONTACT AND CONQUEST 7TH TO 10TH CENTURIES A.D.

During the period from the 7th to the 10th centuries there were the early Arab geographers and the historians of Sind. The writings of the latter reflect the influence not only of Arab historiography but also of the local tradition.

I. *Early Arab Geographers:*²

Travel literature was one of the fullest and most remarkable kinds of composition produced by the Arabs. The vast extent of the Islamic empire, the missionary and commercial activities of the Arabs, the universality of the hajj or pilgrimage to Mecca,

and administrative needs were among the many influences which stimulated travel books and geographical works on even distant lands like Russia. The Abbasid postal system, based on, and an extension of, the previous Persian and Byzantine systems, facilitated communications. The growth of geography was also stimulated by diplomatic relations ; viz., accounts of Ibn Fozlan's embassy to Russia (921) and of Ibn Yaqub's (a Spanish Jew) to Otto the Great.

It is not, therefore, surprising that their craze for geographical knowledge led them to record many observations about India which are highly valuable for understanding the history of the period. We are indebted to Elliot and Dowson for collecting their accounts. The earliest extant work (*The Chain of Histories*) was that of Arab geographer Sulaiman, a merchant, who embarked on the Persian gulf and undertook voyages to India and China. It was dated 237/861 and is a volume of travellers' tales regarding China, India and Africa. Next, Abu Zaidul Hasan of Siraf did not travel in India and China but he modified and supplemented the work of Sulaiman by reading and personal enquiries from travellers thereto. He was a contemporary of Masudi who met him at Basra (303/916) and each was indebted to the other for some of their facts. The accounts of both these were translated by Abbe Renaudot (1718) from a ms. found in the library of Colbert. The third Arab geographer was Ibn Khurdadba (d. 300/912), postmaster at Samarra (844). He compiled the earliest road-book (*'The Book of Itineraries'*), listing the stations on the roads province by province, with distances and account of resources of each district.

Abul Hasan 'Abi alias Al Masudi (d. 345/956), a native of Baghdad, was an extensive traveller, a keen observer and 'one of the most admired writers in the Arabic language'. On his own admission 'he travelled so far to the west (Morocco and Spain) that he forgot the east and so far to the east (China) that he forgot the west.' While referring to the Sudan he alluded to the 'Silent Trade in Gold'. Ibn Khaldun has paid a high tribute to him as 'the prototype of all historians to whom they refer, and on whose authority they rely in the critical estimate of many facts which form the subject of their labours.'

A contemporary of Masudi was the Persian Shaikh Abu Ishak (Al Istakhri), (c. 340/951). He also met Ibn Haukal in

the Indus valley. Muhammad Abul Kasim (Ibn Haukal), a native of Baghdad, spent many years in travel and completed his work 'The Book of Ways and Provinces' in 366/976, largely based on that of Ibn Khurdadba. Based on the above two works is a book called **Surul Buldan** ('Pictures of Countries').

Abu Abdullah Muhammad (Al Idrisi), a Spanish Arab geographer of Morocco (born c. end of 11th century), wrote his voluminous work on geography ('The Book of Roger', first half of 12th century) at the request of Roger II of Norman Sicily where he had settled.

Zakariya bin Muhammad bin Muhammad (al Kazwini, 1203-83), 'the Pliny of the East', was a Persian compiler of geography (Monuments of the Lands) (c. 661/1263 or 674/1275). Unlike Yaqut he based his book on works of older geographers and travellers. It gives a systematic account of the principal cities in Moslem lands in alphabetical order. But he also includes accounts of some non-Moslem countries, e.g., Rome, Ireland, Scandinavia, whale-fishing, trial by battle, trial by ordeal. It is a highly entertaining work.

II. *Historians of Sind.*³

There are certain useful works relating to the Arab rule in Sind.

1. *Mujmal ut Tawarikh*:

There was an old Sanskrit book of the Hindus. The Arabic translation of it by Abu Salih bin Shu'aib bin Jami was translated into Persian in 417/1026 by Abul Hasan Ali bin Muhammad al Jili, librarian at Jurjan. Extracts from this Persian translation relating to Sind, were made by the author of the **Mujmal** during the reign of Sanjar Seljuk, first in 520/1126.

2. *Futh ul Buldan*:

This was of the nature of a 'monograph' which was the typical form of Arab historiography from c. 750-892. Ahmad ibn Yahya ibn Jabir surnamed Abu J'afar and Abu'l Hasan (Al Baladhuri, d. 279/892-3), was a tutor of an Abbasid prince of the time of Caliph al Mutawwakil. This is 'an account of the

first conquests of the Arabs in Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Persia, Armenia, Transoxiana, Africa, Spain and Sind. It is one of the earliest Arab chronicles'. Baladhuri did not visit Sind but quotes authors on whom he depended.

3. *Chach-Nama or Tarikh-i-Hind Wa Sind*:

This was the earliest example of regional history in Muhammadan annals in India, as distinct from history of Islam and universal history. This historical romance of undisputed authenticity, written before A.D. 753, was translated from the Arabic by Muhammad Ali bin Hamid bin Abu Bakr Kufi in the time of Nasiruddin Qabacha (613/1216). Subsequent writers like Nizamuddin Ahmad, Nurul Hakk, Firishta, Mir Masum drew upon this work. Elphinstone found it to be 'a minute and consistent account of the transactions during Muhammad Kasim's invasion, and some of the preceding Hindu reigns. It is full of names and places.'

SECTION B: THE PERIOD OF THE ADVENT OF THE TURKS AND DELHI SULTANATE (11TH-16TH CENTURIES): PRE-MUGHAL INDO-PERSIAN HISTORIES.

Though not strictly historical, Al Biruni's work forms a class by itself, and will be discussed later. The works of the Sultanate or Turko-Afghan period during 13th to 16th centuries constituting Indo-Muslim historiography have been grouped in six broad categories :

(i) General history of the Muslim world, or dynastic historiography, on the lines laid down by al Yaqubi, al Dinawari and al Tabari. The best examples are the two general histories of Islam, *Tabaqat i Nasiri* by Minhaj ud din us Siraj (wr. 1259-60) and *Tarikh i Muhammadi* by Muhammad Bihamand Khani (a member of the military governor class, wr. 1438-9). To the same class belongs *Rauzat us Safa* of Mir Khwand (b. 1433), containing 'a history of Prophets, Kings, Khalifs', and its abridgment, the *Khulasat ul Akhbar* by Khwand Amir (born c. 1475), who also wrote *Habib us Siyar* (wr. 1521-1529).

(ii) Regional history of Islam in Northern India, e.g., *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* by Yahya bin Ahmad Sirhindi (wr. 1434-35). It is a very important source of the Sayyid dynasty. It begins from

the reign of Muhammad of Ghur and ends abruptly in the middle of the reign of Sultan Sayyid Muhammad (1448).

(iii) Manaqib or Fazail history, i.e., eulogistic history of rulers or other individuals in prose. A few examples are noted below : (a) **Tarikh-i-Yamini** of Al Utbi (1020-21) in honour of Mahmud of Ghazni; (b) **Tarikh-i-Baihaqi** or **Mujalladat-i-Baihaqi**, by Khwajah Abul Fazl bin al Hasan al Baihaqi (c. 996-1077). It was a comprehensive history of the Ghaznawides in 30 volumes. Portions dealing with Sabuktigin, Mahmud and Masud are respectively known as **Tarikh us Sabuktigin** (or **Tarikh i Ali Sabuktigin** or **Tarikh i Nasiri**), **Taj ul Futuh** and **Tarikh i Masudi**; (c) **Jawam i ul Hikayat wa Lawam i ul Riwayat** (collections of stories and illustrations of Histories) by Maulana Nuruddin Muhammad al-Awfi, a contemporary of Qubacha and Iltutmish, is dedicated to Nizam ul Mulk Muhammad, minister of Iltutmish; (d) **Tarikh-i-Alai** or **Khazain ul Futuh** by Amir Khusrau; (e) **Tarikh i Firuz Shahi** by Shamsuddin Siraj Afif (wr. c. 1398-9); (f) **Sirat i Firuz Shahi** by an anonymous author (c. 1370).

(iv) The Furstenspiel or Didactic history i.e., regarding history as a branch of ethics, facts being twisted for moral reasons. The best example is the **Tarikh i Firuz Shahi** (wr. in 1358) by Ziauddin Barani (b. 1285), with his religious philosophy of history (i.e., history, an element of divine truth, to be written by orthodox Sunni traditionists).

(v) Artistic forms of history, poetry and rhymed prose (from 10th c. A.D.), historical poems or panegyric notices of masters by officials. It was used by Hasan Nizami (**Taj ul Maasir**), Amir Khusrau (1253-1325) or Mir Khusrau (5 poems and one prose work) and 'Isami in his historical epic (**Futuh us Salatin**, wr. 1349-50).⁴

(vi) Autobiographical Memoirs :

Perhaps the nearest approach to royal autobiography during the Turko-Afghan period is the **Futuh-i Firuz Shahi** by Sultan Firuz Shah himself.

(vii) Histories of Saints and others :

There are also biographies (or Histories) of saints, poets and others. Many eminent Sufi saints used Persian as one of their vehicles of expression and thus contributed to its diffusion and enrichment. The records of their conversations were preserved in the **malfuzat**; their correspondence in **maktubat**; both throw

light on socio-religious life of the age. We may refer to some examples during the Sultanate period. (a) The sayings (**Dala' il u'l Arifin**) of the saint of Ajmer, Shaikh Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti (1142-1235), who had come to India before the Ghorid conquest were collected by his contemporary, Khwaja Bakhtiyar Kaki. (b) The sayings of Bakhtiyar Kaki were compiled by Baba Farid Ganjshakar (1175-1265) in **Fawa'id u'l Salikin**. (c) Baba Farid also recorded his own mystical experiences in **Asrar u'l Auliya**. (d) The **malfuzat** of Nizamuddin Auliya (**Afzal 'sh-Shawahid**) was collected by his disciple Amir Khusrau. His conversations were also recorded (in **Fawa'id u'l Fu'ad**) by Sayyid 'Ali Sanjari. (e) Hazrat Banda Nawaz (1321-1422), the saint of Gulbarga, is reputed to be a prolific author of more than one hundred books and pamphlets on Sufism (e.g., **Jawami 'ul Kilam**, **Asmaru'l Asrar**, **Khatima** etc.).^{4a}

(viii) General characteristics of Pre-Mughal Indo-Persian histories :

Medieval Muslim historiography reflected mainly two distinct traditions of history writing—Arab and Persian. Arab historiography had a wide range covering society, institutions, politics and culture, in a word, the history of the age. Persian historiography had a narrower limit, the history of the rulers. Unlike the Arab historian, the Persian was a courtly flatterer of his patron.

Early medieval Indo-Muslim historiography had certain characteristics. Firstly, it grew up in a tradition of Turko-Persian culture and largely bears the impress of Persian tradition of dynastic historiography rather than Arab tradition of history writing, the authors being either connected with royal courts or solicitous of royal patronage. After the tenth century A.D. Turkish rulers, ignorant of Arabic, spread the Persian language in their conquests westwards (to Anatolia) and South-east wards (to India). The Mongol conquests completed the process by which Persian supplanted Arabic in the Perso-Turkish cultural zone, while the Turkish conquests in India in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries stimulated historical writings in Persian.

Secondly, it was a projection of the general Muslim historiography growing up outside India. Dr. P. Hardy has described the period (1206-1440) as "a colonial period in Indo-Moslem historiography—a period when Muslim historians remained aloof

within the 'civil lines' of Muslim historical writings imitating the modes and manners of Arabic and Persian historians back at 'home' in their own records of the adventures among the 'natives' of their fellow Indian-Muslim political and military chiefs; they hoped that their histories would amuse, instruct, and refresh those chiefs when they returned from weeks and months of hard campaigning in the 'mufassil'." The best example of this was the **Shajara-i-ansab-i-Mubarak Shahi**, by Fakhr-i-Mudabbir Mubarak Shah. It gives universal history from Adam (in 137 genealogies), praise of God and the prophets, chronology of politico-military history from 1173, an eulogy of Qutbuddin (the reigning Sultan), didactic maxims for rulers, and a medley of data, cosmological, geographical and ethnographical. But it lacks the critical approach of Arabic historiography. He was followed by a long line of Indo-Persian chroniclers viz., Minhaj ud din us Siraj, Ziauddin Barani and others, continuing the Perso-Islamic tradition of historiography.⁵

Thirdly, the Indo-Moslem historians made History revolve round its 'great men' and deal with political problems and events. History was conceived by Amir Khusrau (1253-1325), Isami (c. 1350), Ziauddin Barani (wr. 1358), Shams i Siraj Afif (b. 1342/wr. 15th c.) and Yahya bin Ahmad Sirhindi (wr. 1434-5) to be the history of great men—rulers, princes and nobles, not of the lowly and the base, not of the people. To Barani, the **Tarikh** is knowledge of the annals and traditions of prophets, Caliphs, Sultans and other great men of religion and Government. It loses its value if it concerns with the deeds of mean and unworthy persons. Indeed such persons usually have no taste for it and its study does not advantage them (Hardy 22). Thus some authors wrote eulogies on rulers and individuals,—e.g., al Utbi (**Tarikh i Yamini**, 1020-21), Afif (**Tarikh i Firuz Shahi**, c. 1398-99). These works belong to the category of **manaqib** or **fazail** history or prose eulogy of rulers and individuals. Isami was the only writer above fear or favour of the Sultans.

SECTION C: MUGHAL HISTORIOGRAPHY (16TH TO 18TH CENTURIES)

1. *Categories of historical literature:*

If pre-Mughal historiography was extra-Indian in inspiration and methodology, Mughal historiography reflected 'a distinctive

Indian historical tradition' (H. A. R. Gibb). In fact it grew up as a result of the 'confluence of three streams', one older and two new : (i) the Perso-Islamic or Indo-Persian tradition, local and general (or writing general histories as well as regional histories), which continued during the Mughal period and on account of which a definite breach with the past did not take place ;

(ii) the new tradition of the School of Herat : The Mongol historians could introduce a new tradition in historiography by utilising the vast dynastic archives and other secret and public materials to which they had access as ministers, secretaries or officers. This is well illustrated in Alaud din Ata Malik Juwaini's (1226-83) *Tarikh i Jahankusha*, dealing with Chinghiz Khan, *Torikh i Wassaf* or *Wassaf i Hazrat* of Abdullah ibn Fazlullah, and *Jamiut Tawarikh* of Rashid ud din Fazlullah, minister of Ghazan Khan (1295-1304). The latter not only utilised the archives but secured the collaboration of several experts and even Buddhist scholars like Kamalashri, a hermit of Kashmir.

(iii) the new distinctive forms introduced by the Mughals (e.g. official chronicles, memoirs, development of historical biography). A few writers were possibly influenced by the contemporary compositions in Persia, though the establishment of Shiism as the state religion of Persia tended to keep history in Persia and India apart.⁶

The historical writings and semi-historical literature of the Mughal age (16th-18th centuries) may be grouped under the following heads.⁷ Some of these served as channels to secularise history-writing in the Mughal age.

(A) Official records or Court bulletins : The Mughal period is enlightened, unlike the Sultanate period, by extant official records including numerous royal *farmans* and official records of various kinds from the time of Akbar onwards. These form the bed-rock of primary sources of the Mughal age. Some of these *farmans* and orders are given in *Mirat i Ahmadi*. Besides these new *farmans* have been discovered, edited or translated. A unique form of historical literature of the Mughal period was the *Akh-barat i darbar i mu'ala* (news bulletins of the imperial court) or minutes of the proceedings of the Court, taken down daily by clerks. Here we find 'the Mughal officialdom both at work as well as at play.'⁸

(B) Official histories or chronicles: Written by royal historiographers during the reigns of Akbar (**Akbarnamah**), Shahjahan (**Padshahnamah**) and partly under Aurangzeb and Bahadur Shah, these may be regarded as official biographical histories dealing with the achievements of the rulers concerned. The practice, indicative of Persian influence, was started by Akbar. Of all the Mughal historiographers, Abul Fazl, the first historiographer of Akbar, the author of the **Akbarnamah**, comes nearest to the modern conception of a historian, though his approach to history was 'rex-centric'. Along with the **Ain i Akbari**, it gives a full picture of political affairs, the government, social and economic condition of the country. Inayatullah continues the story of Abul Fazl after his murder till Akbar's death in **Takmil-i-Akbarnamah** though with many omissions. The **Alamgirnarah** covers the first ten years of Aurangzeb's reign. He stopped the practice from the 11th year of his reign out of deference to moral scruples and perhaps also for financial reasons. The complete official history of the reign (**Maasir i Alamgiri**) was written by Muhammad Saqi Mustaid Khan long after his death (1710). A critical review of these would be given in the next chapter.⁹

(C) Royal autobiographies and memoirs: The Timurides were themselves highly educated or patrons of learning and literature. The memoirs, introduced by them, differed from formal chronicles and constituted a most novel feature. These were written by members of royal family as well as by private persons. The **Malfuzat i Timuri** or **Tuzuk i Timuri** was an autobiographical memoir of Timur for 41 years of his life written in Chaghtai Turki. The authenticity of the work, once suspect, is now accepted, thanks to Major Davy. The method of recording the events of Timur's life, described some years after his death by Sharfuddin Yazdi, author of **Zararnamah** (1424) supplied a model for that used by Abul Fazl later in writing the **Akbarnamah**. The tradition of Timur was continued by Babur in **Tuzuk i Baburi** and by Jahangir in **Tuzuk i Jahangiri**.

Among the memoirs may be mentioned (i) **Tarikh i Rashidi** by Mirza Haidar Dughlat, Babur's cousin, (ii) **Humayunnamah** by Gulbadan Begum, Babur's daughter, (iii) **Tazkirat ul Waqiat** by Jauhar Aftabchi, Humayun's ewer-bearer, (iv) **Waqiat i Asad Beg**, whose author was in Abul Fazl's service for 17 years till the latter's murder. Akbar appointed him a mansabdar of 125 and

asked him to report on the failure of the expedition to Bijapur and Golkonda. He narrated his experiences.¹⁰ Mirza Nathan's **Baharistan-i-Ghaibi** will be dealt with under regional history.

(D) Non-official or Private Histories or historical biographies :

Strictly speaking the term 'non-official' history or biography is a misnomer,—for anybody, who was somebody, was either in imperial service or in the personal staff of some officer. But it only means that none of such authors wrote to imperial order.

Babur: The **Waqiat i Baburi** by Zainuddin, Babur's Sadr, generally follows the **Tuzuk** but gives additional details from personal knowledge. **Habib us Siyar** by Khwand Amir (1474-1534) a contemporary account of (Shah Ismail and) Babur, is 'one of the best universal histories attempted by Muslim historians', sober, methodical and fairly impartial. **Tarikh i Rashidi** was written (1551) by Mirza Haidar Dughlat, Babur's cousin, who accompanied Babur to Badakhshan after the battle of Merv. (1510).¹¹

Humayun : **Humayunnamah** by Gulbadan Begum, and **Tazkirat ul Waqiat** by Jauhar Aftabchi, mentioned before, were written under Akbar's orders to supply materials for the **Akbarnamah** and were based on their personal knowledge of men and affairs. The **Humayunnamah** of Khwand Mir (written 1535) is especially valuable for Humayun's political institutions.¹²

For the Surs, we have **Tarikh i Sher Shahi** by Abbas Sarwani (connected with Sher by marriage), written at Akbar's order to supply materials for **Akbarnamah**; **Tarikh i Daudi** from Bahlol to Daud, 1595) by Abdullah (temp. Jahangir) ; **Makhzani i Afaghana** by Niamatullah (wr. 1613), (a history of the Afghans with enough biographical material), besides **Tarikh i Khan i Jahan Lodi wa Makhzan i Afaghana** ; **Waqiat i Mushtaqi** by Rizquallah.¹³

Akbar : Due to Akbar's patronage of literature there was an unprecedented outburst of literary activities. Several historical works with considerable biographical material were composed during his reign. The earliest known work on Akbar was **Nafais ul Maasir** by Mir Ala ud daula Qazvini, a poet. Written during 1565-6 and 1574-5 it is primarily a biographical dictionary of poets but it also deals with Babur, Humayun and Akbar and their nobles as well. Haji Muhammad 'Arif Qandahari, the author of **Tarikh i Akbar Shahi** or **Tarikh i Akbari**, an account of India under her Muslim kings (written 1578-1581) was attached to Bairam Khan, and was subsequently employed in the re-

venue department under Muzaffar Khan Turbati. Representing Akbar as a devout Muslim he does not allude much to his religious views or refer to remission of 'jaziya' (1564). It was, however, a fragmentary work up to 1573-80. The **Tarikh-i-Alfi** was composed by a board of seven editors at Akbar's behest to commemorate the completion of 1000 years (**alf**) of Islam (1591-2) by means of an objective history. It tries to depict Akbar as the Padshah of Islam, preferring his policy of opening careers (even of foreigners) to talent to that of encouraging local talents as by Sultan of Turkey. Mulla Ahmad's **Tarikh i Alfi**, (1591-2) a general history of the eastern world since the death of the Prophet in A.D. 632, mostly abridged (1585-9) from **Akbar-namah** (regarding Mughal period, has no independent value. **Tabaqat i Akbari (Tarikh i Nizami)** (till 39th regnal year) by Nizamuddin Ahmad Bakhshi (wr. 1593-4), a general history of Muslim India, becoming fuller as it approaches the Mughal period and **Muntakhab ut Tawalik** by Abdul Qadir Badauni, a general history of India (1595) will be discussed in detail in next chapter. Shaikh 'Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlavi, the author of **Tarikh i Haqqi** or **Zikrul Muluk** (wr. 1595-6), a general history of Muslim India, was a contemporary writer, regarded as a saint after his death. His account of Akbar is valuable as a corrective to Badauni's. Shaikh Iahdad Faizi Sirhindi wrote **Akbar-nama** (1601) and Shaikh Nurul Huq (son of Shaikh Abdul Huq) wrote **Zubdat ut Tawarikh** (1606), both under the patronage of Shaikh Farid Bokhari.¹⁴

Tarikh i Khandan i Timuria by an anonymous author deals with the history of the Timurides till Akbar's 22nd regnal year. Its profuse illustrations make it an indispensable reference book for 'Mughal' painting.

Jahangir : The Iqbalnama i Jahangiri by Muhammad Sharif Mutamad Khan Bakhshi written during the reign of Jahangir is in three parts. The first covering the history of the Timurides till the end of Humayun's reign and the second that of Akbar are summaries of contemporary accounts. But the work also gives additional information on the basis of contemporary knowledge. Its third part on Jahangir's reign generally follows the **Tuzuk** for the first 19 years but also supplements the **Tuzuk**. **Maasir i Jahangiri** by Khwaja Kamgar Ghairat Khan, composed during the reign of Shahjahan, gives another version of events

of Jahangir's reign and gives a detailed biography while he was a prince. So it is useful for Akbar's reign also. There is a metrical **Jahangirnama** by a contemporary poet which gives additional details.¹⁵

Shahjahan: There were several historians who wrote accounts of the reigns of Shahjahan and of his predecessors, e.g., **Amal i Swalih** by Muhammad Swalih Kambu, a complete history of Shahjahan's reign (wr. 1666) along with accounts of Sayyids, Shaikhs, men of letters and lists of princes and mansabdars. **Mazmul-Mufassil** by M. Muhammad (wr. 1065/1655) traces the relation of the Mughal emperors with the provincial dynasties and also contains an account of saints and scholars of different places; **Shahjahannamah** or **Tawarikh i Shahjahani** by Muhammad Sadiq Khan, a waqainavis at Agra, participating at battle of Samugarh, and claiming to have written it from personal knowledge. It is a complete and unique history of Shahjahan down to his imprisonment. As darogha of Ghusalkhana he enjoyed a very honoured intimate position, and could, as a private chronicler, record his narrative independently. His account of Ali Mardan's surrender of Qandahar has an independent value. It was pirated by Khafi Khan. **Subh i Sadiq** by Muhammad Sadiq (then in Allahabad fort with his father when it was besieged on behalf of rebel prince, Shahjahan), a universal history (written 1048/1653), contains an account of the Mughals. **Asar i Shahjahani**, a history of the Mughals, was compiled from Persian and Arabic works, by Muhammad Sadiq of Delhi, a contemporary of Shahjahan. He says that Babur very nearly lost the battle of Panipat and describes Humayun's relations with contemporary scholars and saints; **Badshahnama** by Muhammad Tahir, Shahjahan's imperial librarian (in 31st year), useful for an account of the revenues of India, a list of Shahjahan's mansabdars (in 20th year) and referring to Shahjahan's linguistic equipments and knowledge of Hindi; **Badshahnama** by Mutamad Khan, a contemporary summary account of Shahjahan; **Kulyat i Qudsi** includes a metrical biography of Shahjahan; **Shahjahannama** by Bhagwandas, an abridged history of India written during the reign of Shahjahan; **Intakhab i Waqaat i Shahjahani** by Md. Zahid (wr. 1080/1669-70), an abridgment of standard histories of Shahjahan's reign at the request of Muzzam Shah Alam. The War of Succession among Shahjahan's sons supplied the theme to several

historians : (i) Aqil Khan Razi, Aurangzeb's equery, wrote **Zafarnama-i'Alamgiri** also called **Halat i Aurangzeb** or **Waqi'at i 'Alamgiri**, a standard history of the civil war, coming up to the fifth year of Aurangzeb's reign (1663), and used by Md. Kazim. (ii) **Aurangnama** by 'Haqiri', a metrical history of the war. **Khulasat ut Tawarikh** by Sujan Rai of Batala, a general history of India up to Shahjahan's death and especially valuable for its economic description of India of Aurangzeb, as well as its references to contemporary saints, scholars and teachers, as also to the Sikhs and description of the Punjab ; **Intikhab i Muntkhib Kalam** by Abdus Shakur (written 1107/1695-96) contains an account of Muslim kings of India down to Shahjahan's reign with a separate chapter on Sind.¹⁶

Aurangzeb : Notwithstanding Aurangzeb's prohibition of writing of history several private histories were written during his reign. Of the contemporary histories, **Lubb ut Tawarikh i Hind** (wr. 1696) of Rai Brindaban, **Fatuhāt i Alamgiri** by Ishwardas Nagar (wr. 1731) and **Nuskha in Dilkusha** of Bhimsen Burhanpuri and **Muntakhab ul Lubab** of Muhammad Hashim or Hashim Ali Khan, usually known as Khafi Khan (wr. 1733) deserve special mention. Besides these there were **Tabasar-ul-Nazarin** by Sayyid Muhammad Bilgrami, a history of the Mughals up to the death of Alamgir, based on his personal knowledge or information given by reliable and knowledgeable informants ; **Tarikh i 'Alamgiri** by Ahmad Quli Safavi, **Waqianavis** of Bengal during Aurangzeb's reign, a rare work ; **Mirat ul Alam** by Bakhtawar Khan (c. A.D. 1683) with a section on India ; **Mirat i Jahan Numa** is another recension of it though it is said to have a different author ; **Mufid ul Mawarakhin** (wr. 1071/1660-1) by Abdus Shakur, referring to some events in Aurangzeb's reign. Abul Fazl Mamuri wrote a history of the reign of Aurangzeb (Rampur Ms.).¹⁷

(E) Regional or local histories or historical biographies :

Like the imperial prototypes in the Delhi Sultanate and Mughal empire these deal with provinces or different regions or kingdoms. The authors of these works wrote either for pleasing their royal patron or satisfying their own hobbies.

For the sake of convenience the survey will be made area-wise. But the list is not exhaustive.

Northern India : Kashmir : Besides Mirza Haidar Dughlat's **Tarikh-i-Rashidi** there are a few works. In his **Tarikh-i-Azami** (wr. 1748), Mullah Muhammad Azami gives a brief account of Kashmir including Mughal conquest and rule, but the description of the saints, scholars and theologians is detailed and rich. Then there are Haidar Malik's **Tarikh-i-Kashmir** (1578) and Badiur Zaman's **Lataif ul Akhbar** (for Qandahar).¹⁸

Western India : With the Mughal conquest of Gujrat, Sind and neighbouring areas, their histories came to be written by local historians.

Gujrat, the richest province as regards the number and variety of its historical records, has bequeathed more histories for the Muslim period than any other state in India. We may note **Tarikh-i-Gujarat**, written by Mir Abu Turab Ali during Akbar's reign, based on **Akbarnamah** and other contemporary works but giving new information ; **Mirat-i-Sikandari** by Sikandar bin Muhammad (wr. 1613) giving Mughal relations with Gujrat ; Arabic History of Gujrat by Abdullah ; **Mirat-i-Ahmadi** by Mirza Muhammad Hasan better known as Ali Muhammad Khan (wr. 1750-60). It not only deals with the history of the province from 1000-1760 but is extremely useful, containing orders and instructions of Mughal emperors and giving a descriptive account of Gujrat.¹⁹

Sind : (i) The **Tarikh us Sind** or **Tarikh-i-M'asumi** (wr. 1600) by Mir Muhammad M'asum of Bhakkar, an officer under Akbar and Jahangir is the 'most copious history of Sind' available. It deals with the history of Sind from its conquest by the Arabs till its conquest by Akbar in 1592, referring to a famine here in 1540-1.

(ii) The **Tarikh-i-Tahiri** (wr. 1621). Its author, Mir Tahir Muhammad Nasyani, son of Sayyid Hasan of Thatta, and his family were closely acquainted with the Arghuns (on whom they were dependent) and Tarkhans. It is very confused. Though divided into 10 chapters only four are said to have been numbered.

(iii) **Beg-Larnama** (author unknown) under orders of a local chief, Shah Kasim Khan, to whom it was dedicated. He was son of Amir Saiyid Kasim Beg-Lar, whose family traced their descent from 'Ali and after residing at Turmuz for several generations, went to Samarkhand and thence migrated to Sind. As the

last date given is 1033/1623-4 it is believed to have been composed perhaps about 1034/1625, but the date might range up to 1036 A.H.

(iv) **Tarkhan-Nama** or **Arghun-nama** written by Sayyid Jamal, son of Mir Jalal uddin Husaini Shirazi, in 1654-55, as a compliment to his patron, Mirza Muhammad Salih, great-grandson of the distinguished founder of the Tarkhan dynasty of Sind.

(v) **Tufat ul Kiram** by 'Ali Sher Kani in 3 volumes, dealing with (a) pre-Islamic period, history of Islam up to the Abbasids, (b) General history and (c) special history of Sind. The third volume is considered to be 'the most comprehensive and consistent of all the histories of Sind.'²⁰

Eastern India : Bengal and Assam :

Bengal is not so fortunate as Gujrat. It has no continuous history in Persian before the **Riyaz us Salatin** (1788). What exist are several historical biographies or memoirs only. The **Baharistan i Ghaibi** of Mirza Nathan (entitled Shitab Khan) is a special history of Bengal during the reign of Jahangir (written during the time of Shahjahan). It has been described as 'the only oasis in this barren desert of historical ignorance'. A Khanazad, probably brought up in the royal household, he accompanied and served with his father, Ihtamam Khan, Superintendent of artillery in Bengal during the viceroyalty of Islam Khan (1608). Later he got some minor post. But he was a self-conceited writer, claiming credit for himself for all successes, attributing failure to jealousy of his superiors and exaggerating his own achievements, even claiming the power of working miracles. He gives misleading accounts regarding appointments in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, distorts facts, indulges in mud-throwing and tinkering with dates. Hence it requires great caution from its readers. However, it has great value. It gives a detailed account of Mughal conquest and occupation of Orissa, Bengal and Assam under Jahangir and of Khurram's rebellion in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. It refers to administrative practices and orders and to the extent of their implementation in a far off province as also to social customs and religious beliefs.²¹ For Shah Shuja we have **Tarikh i Shah Shujai** by the Shujaite historian, Muhammad Ma'sum. It gives an account of Shuja's governorship in Bengal and struggle with Mir Jumla in the War of Succession, where he was present as an eye witness.²² We

have a long and masterly diary, **Tarikh i Asham** or **Fathiyyah i ibriyyah**, by Ibn Muhammad Wali Ahmad entitled Shihabuddin Talish (1663), the waqianavis of Mir Jumla, governor of Bengal and the conqueror of Assam, giving the most detailed and an eye-witness's account in Persian of the campaigns of his master in Northern-eastern India. It is valuable not only for the military details but also for the vivid account of the country and the people of Assam. It was used in the '**Alamgirnamah**'.²³ There is a **Continuation** of the **Fathiyyah** by Talish himself, giving the events in Bengal since the death of Mir Jumla to the conquest of Chatgaon during the time of Shaista Khan.²⁴ Among other histories of Bengal we have **Tarikh i Bangalah** by Salimullah. The **Riyaz us Salatin** by Ghulam Husain Salim (wr. 1787-88), based mostly on contemporary accounts is not so dependable as Salimullah.²⁵

Mughal histories, official or private, had a supreme contempt for the rulers of the Deccani Shia Sultanates who were styled not as kings or Sultans but only as zaminlars, duniadars or marzbans. Some were not always accurate in details. Fortunately we have for these kingdoms separate chronicles. For Bijapur there are Mir Rafiuddin bin Nuruddin Taufiq Husain Shirazi's **Tazkirat ul Muluk** (wr. 1608-1615); Muhammad Hashim Fuzuni Astarabadi's **Fatihat i Adil Shahi**, 'temp'. Md. Adil Shah (wr. 1641-3). Maulana Muhammad Zahur bin Zahuri, author of **Muhammadnamah**, written at the instance of Sultan Muhammad Adil Shah communicated to Nawab Mustafa Khan, and written during 1641-6, uses 'Sahur San' years current in the Deccan, which are nine years short of the A.H. dates. It refers to Afzal Khan's tempting a rebel against Bijapur by offering to save his life on surrender and then having him murdered (cf. Afzal-Shivaji episode). **Tarikh-i-Ali Adil Shah II** by Qazi Sayyid Nurullah bin Qazi Sayyid Ali Muhammad al Husayni al-Qadiri, was written under the Sultan's orders (last date mentioned is November 12, 1667). The Cambridge History of India, vol. IV wrongly describes it as a modern compilation. Lastly we have the **Basatin us Salatin** by Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi, containing many original documents not otherwise available, and a very 'valuable and accurate' history though it was a late compilation (1824).²⁶

For Golkonda we have **Tarikh-i Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shah** or **Tarikh-i-Qutb Shahi** by an anonymous writer (wr. 1025/1616); continued upto 1629 in **Maasir i Qutb Shah** by Mahmud b. Abdullah Nishapuri (completed in 1622-9); **Hadiqat us Salatin** by Mirza Nizamuddin Ahmad bin Abdullah us Shirazi us Saidi (which is the second volume of **Tarikh i Qutb Shahi**) which deals with the history of Abdullah Qutbshah from 1614 to 1643. Aurangzeb's newswriter, Mirza Muhammad Niamat Khan ('Ali'), entitled Danishmand Khan and Muqarrab Khan, was the author of the satirical **Waqai Nimat Khan-i-Ali** or **Waqai Haidarabad**, dealing with the sieze and conquest of Golkonda of which he was an eye-witness. **Qutbnuma i 'Alam** by Sayyid Muhammad Mir Abu Turab which brings the story up to the annexation of Golkonda by Aurangzeb and **Hadiqat ul 'Alam** by Mir Abul Qasim alias Mir Alam are late works. Besides the prose histories there were four metrical histories of Golkonda, all ending in the reign of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah.²⁷

We get materials for Ahmadnagar from **Burhan i Maasir** by Sayyid Ali b. Azizullah Tabataba (dealing with the history of Bahmani K. and its offshoots up to 1594).²⁸ Besides there is **Tarikh i Elchi Nizam Shah** by Khur Shah b. Qubad al Husaini, envoy of Nizam Shah to Shah Tahmasp (soon after Humayun's departure) who stayed 19 years. The account of Humayun's visit is very brief ; that of Tahmasp's invasion of Qandahar, ill-informed. Instances can be multiplied.

(F) Biographical literature :

The framework of history is one of thought, that of biography is one of narration of natural or biological process. Personal or ordinary biography revolves round the life-story of an individual. Historical biography is one which, revolving round a person or persons, transcends the narrow limits of mere historical evolution, and in a sense partakes of the character of true history and even of universal history, involving due research, interpretation and historical thought processes. The concept of historical biography in the west is said to have grown in the age of the Italian Renaissance. But in olden times biography was intimately connected with contemporary history and culture. The 'great man' theory of historical interpretation, though controver-

sial, has been very popular throughout the ages—in Graeco-Roman, medieval European and medieval Muslim historiography. It would thus be difficult to draw a hard and fast line of division between history and biography.²⁹

In this category we may include royal autobiographies, private biographies, memoirs of nobles and biographical dictionaries. Several writers and nobles narrated their own experiences, impressions or accounts of their contemporaries.

Humayun's *Mir i Saman Bayazid Biyat* wrote his **Muktasar**, also called **Tarikh-i** (or **Tazkira i**) **Humayun wa Akbar** about 1591-2 in Turki in compliance with Akbar's general circular about submitting written accounts on Humayun. This partook of the character of 'rambling' reminiscences written from the standpoint of an orthodox Muslim. It is valuable for lists of nobles and sidelights on administration but its dates are confusing.

Asad Beg, formerly in Abul Fazl's service since 1585, was appointed mansabdar by Akbar. He continued his memoirs (**Waqiat in Asad Beg**) till his death in 1631-2.³¹

'Abdul Latif accompanied his master, Mir Hasan (appointed diwan of Bengal, 1608) from Gujrat to Bengal, and gave an account of the territories traversed (**Safarnamah**).³¹

'**Maasir i Rahimi** by Md. 'Abdul Baqi Nihawandi (wr. 1025/1616), is a voluminous biography of 'Abdur Rahim Khan i Khanan, then Mughal viceroy of the Deccan, which also gives a short background of the history of Muslim rule in India and accounts of learned men who used to surround him. It throws interesting light on Humayun's Persian sojourn but exaggerates Bairam's role there. A Persian, he naturally takes pride in referring to Persian influence on India, and describes Abdur Rahim as 'a great man who converted India into Iran.'³²

Chahar Chaman i Brahman by Chandar Bhan has four parts: (i) author's recollections of some events under Shahjahan and an account of expeditions to Daulatabad, Assam, Balkh, Badakhshan and Chitor, and also of various wazirs of Mughal emperors, (ii) description of contemporary India, (iii) personal anecdotes of the writer's life and some moral dissertations, (iv) his autobiography and some letters of his. The last date given is December 20, 1658.

In his journal, **Lataif ul Akhbar**, Rashid Khan shows Dara's weaknesses and follies during his Qandahar expedition. **Zakhirat ul Khawanin** by Shaikh Farid Bhakkari ('temp'. Shahjahan) containing biographical notices of nobles during the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan, is a very valuable work. As he knew many of them personally, his references are 'vivid, interesting and well-informed'. It was extensively mined by the **Maasir ul Umara**.³³

Waqai-i-Ni'mat Khan 'Ali gives an account of the siege of Hyderabad (1686) by an eye witness. **Roznamah of Mirza Muhammad** starts from 1707 but has a brief account of Aurangzeb's reign, useful in giving an insight into the character of some Alamgiri nobles who survived Aurangzeb. **Nuskha i Dilkusha** by Bhimsen Burhanpuri (b. 1649) belongs to the rank of a memoir by a Kayastha Bundela officer.³⁴ Anand Ram 'Mukhlis was **wakil** of Qamaruddin Khan (wazir of Muhammad Shah) and also of Zakariya Khan (governor of Lahore and Multan). His own family had good connections with Delhi Court. He had several works or tracts to his credit. Both **Badai-i-Waqai'** and **Tazkira i Anand Ram Mukhlis** are collections of his tracts and deal with Nadir Shah's invasion. His **Guldasta-i Asrar** gives Nadir Shah's correspondence with Mughal governor of Kabul. Besides, there were **Makatib i Rai Rayan Anand Ram 'Mukhlis'** and **Mansurat i Anand Ram**. His **Mirat ul Istilah** is a dictionary of official terms, idioms, proverbs, arranged alphabetically, and referring to events and anecdotes by way of explanation. Muhammad 'Ali Ansari, grandson of Shamsud Daula Luftullah Khan Sadiq, governor ('nazim') of Shahjahanabad (Delhi) about the time of invasion of Nadir Shah, gives (**Tarikh i Muzaffari**) some new information regarding the history of the Indian Mughals up to 1211/1796 (or later) as well as copies of **farmans** of Md. Shah and Nadir Shah to Lutfullah.

There are two reputed biographical dictionaries of Mughal mansabdars: (i) **Maasir ul Umara** by Samsam ud Daulah Shah Nawaz Khan Aurangabadi (d. 1171/1757-8) and his son Abdul Hayy Khan (d. 1194/1780) is a wellknown biographical dictionary of Mughal peerage (wr. 1742-79), based on contemporary sources and constitutes an indispensable work of reference; (ii) **Takirat ul Umara** by Kewal Ram, son of Raghunath (wr. 1194/1780), though very brief, gives a general index of mansabdars as well

as refers to some notable events of Jahangir's reign besides a list of governors of various provinces from Akbar's time and revenues of the empire. There is a biographical dictionary of poetry and prose writers of Iran and India, entitled **Hadaiqu's-Salatin** (wr. 1681) by Ali b. Taifur Bistami in Golkonda.⁸⁵

As in the Sultanate period so during the Mughal period as well there were several well-known biographies or histories of Muslim saints written in Persian (or Arabic). (1) **Munaqib i Ghausiya** by Shah Fazl Shattari, a biography of his teacher Muhammad Ghaus Gwaliari (1482-1562); (2) **Sair ul 'Arafin** by Shaikh Jamal, a collection of biographies and saints and scholars written during the time of Humayun; (3) **Akhbar ul Akhayar** by Shaikh Abdul Haq Dehlavi (written 1590), a collection of biographies of saints, scholars and holy men in India; (4) **Sair ul Iqtab** by Allah Diya (written between 1623-29) containing sketches of life histories of various Chistia saints down to 1623; (5) **Safinat ul Auliya** by Dara Shukoh contains biographies of saints upto Mughal period with his own experiences during his pilgrimages to their tombs; (6) **Sakinat ul Auliya** by Dara, the standard biography of Mian Mir; (7) **Rubaiyat i Mulla Shah** by Mulla Shah Badakhshi, the famous disciple of Mian Mir. It is a collection of quatrains, mostly on sufistic subjects. But it also refers occasionally to some incidents in the lives of Mian Mir and Mulla Shah. (8) **Masnaviyat i Mulla Shah** is an anthology of poetical works of Mulla Shah with details about his teacher and himself. (9) **Mirat ul khayal** by Shaikh ibn 'Ali Ahmad Khan Sirhindi, contains an account of the life and works of Persian poets and poetesses of India (c. 1690-1). A few of the poets were men of affairs also. (10) **Halat i Hazrat Balawal** is a biography of the saint of Mughal India by a disciple of his.⁸⁶

(G) Gazetteers supply us with statistical surveys, geographical and biographical details like the **'Ain i Akbari** of Abul Fazl and **Haft Iqlim** of Amin Ahmad Razi.⁸⁷

(H) Correspondence: Letters constitute a very important source of history of the Mughal period. These may broadly be divided as official and private. In the first category may be included the **Insha i** i.e., (letters of) **Abul Fazl**, collected by Abdus Samad after his death (1602); the different series of Aurangzeb's correspondence, like **Adab i 'Alamgiri**, the **Ahkam i 'Alamgiri**, **Kalimat i Tayyibat**, **Kalimat i Aurangzeb**, **Ruqaat i Alamgiri**.

etc. and compilations made therefrom after his death ; the **Haft Anjuman** compiled by Udairaj alias Taleyar Khan ; **Ruqaat i Shah Abbas Sani** of Tahir Wahid; **Khatut i Shivaji**; **Faiyyaz ul Quwanin**.³⁸ There are three valuable collections of letters and farmans of Abdullah Qutb Shah.

(I) Administrative Manuals or **Dastur ul 'Amals** : These are available for the reigns of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb, containing highly condensed abstracts of facts and figures with additions for subsequent reigns. These describe methods of administration, revenue rules and regulations, give reliable statistical data, figures of land revenue and detail some institutions or duties of officers. The contents will show the importance of this source. But these are very rare, being available in India Office and British Museum or scattered in different libraries. On account of the defective state and bad handwriting of the mss. and use of signs for numerals, their reading becomes conjectural. These defects may be corrected with the help of **Mirat i Ahmadi** of Ali Muhammad Khan, last imperial diwan of Gujrat. The **Zawabit-i-Alamgiri** (Regulations of Aurangzeb by an anonymous author) comes up to 1690. . Mention must be made of **Haqiqat al Hindustan** by Lachmi Narayan Shafiq, **Diwan i Pasand** of Chattar Mal, **Dastur-ul-amal** of Rajah Rup (claiming to be a disciple of Raja Todar Mal), that of Khwajah Yasin, **Risalah-i-manasib** of Najaf Ali, and **Kaifiyat-i-Subajat-i-mamalik-i-mahrusah-i-Hindustan**. An eighteenth century work, **Hedayet ul Qawaid** written by Hedayetullah, a disciple of Shah Ahmad Manawwar of Maner, Patna dt. in Bihar (1715) is a store-house of minute information about the duties of officers at different levels, central, provincial, district, parganah and village, and contains instructions for their conduct and also about official routine.³⁹

Besides these other original sources include literary works in Persian, Sanskrit and other local languages, foreign writers' accounts, archaeological, epigraphic and numismatic sources.

2. *'Afghan histories :*

There were certain histories dealing with the Afghans written by Afghan writers. Owing to natural bias they were favourable and even eulogistic to their heroes, the Lodis and the Surs. Among the best known are the following :

- (a) **Waqiat i Mushtaqi**: The author, Shaikh Rizqullah Mushtaqi (1491-92 to 1581), was descended from a Turkish immigrant family long settled in India and belonging to the Shattari order. The work is a collection of anecdotes, based on his reminiscences. Though not strictly historical, it is of great historical importance, as it is the earliest work on the history of the Lodis and the Surs, besides containing accounts of Babur, Humayun and Akbar and two Khalji rulers of Malwa (1469-1510) and Muzaffar Shah II of Gujrat. It is also important for a study of the Afghan tribal system and the social history of the Muslims of the sixteenth century. Abbas Sarwani was indebted to Rizqullah for the account of Sher's administration. Faizi Sirhindi rated him highly as historian and his nephew Abdul Huq and the Afghan writers of Jahangir's reign also borrowed from him.
- (b) **Tarikh i Sher Shahi or Tufah-i-Akbar Shahi** by Abbas Khan Sarwani, belonging to the reputed family of Sarwani Saints of Roh. It is the 'most detailed history' of the reign of Sher Shah written as reminiscences at the command of Akbar about 40 years after Sher Shah's death. The author was connected with him by marriage. The concluding portion on administration is informative.
- (c) The **Makhzan i Afghana** of Nimatullah, written in time of Jahangir, gives the genealogical account of the various Afghan tribes. Another work (**Tarikh-i-Khan i Jahan Lodi wa Makhzan-i-Afghana**) was also written by the author.
- (d) The **Tarikh i Daudi** of Abdullah was also written in the time of Jahangir. It starts from the reign of Bahlol Lodi and ends with that of Muhammad Adali Sur and Daud Shah (d. 1575).⁴⁰

3. *Hindu historians' writings in Persian in Mughal India*

At first writers writing in Persian were either foreign immigrants or their descendants. Gradually it came to be cultivated even by Muslims and Hindus whose mother tongue was not

Persian. Thus apart from Muslim writers there are many Hindus who entered the arena of Indo-Persian historiography, after mastering the Persian language. They followed the same technique as the Muslim historians writing in Persian. Brindaban, entitled Rai, son of Rai Bhara Mal (diwan of Dara), the author of **Lubbu-t Tawarikh-i-Hind** (Marrow of Histories of India), had been initiated into a knowledge of public affairs early. His intention was to write a book 'which should briefly describe how and in what duration of time, those conquests (i.e., of the Timurides, including Aurangzeb) were achieved, should give the history of former kings, their origin and the causes which occasioned their rise or fall . . .'.⁴¹ He wanted to do so, because the defect of Ferishta's work was 'that notwithstanding its being an abstract, it is in many parts too prolix'. He held his own work (wr. 1696) to be superior to those of others as he treated of 'the extensive and resplendant conquests' of Aurangzeb whose empire was unequalled except by that of 'Rum'.⁴²

Bhimsen Burhanpuri (b. 1649) left Burhanpur, the place of his birth, at the age of eight to join his father, Raghunandan Das, a Kayastha by caste, at Aurangabad. The latter was for sometime Diwan of the Deccan. A hereditary kayastha civil officer of the Mughals, Bhimsen spent his life in Mughal cities and camps of the Deccan and saw many places of India from Cape Comorin to Delhi. He was familiar with many high Mughal officers and took a leading part in the occurrences himself. A Bundela officer, he joined the service of Dalpat Rao, the chief of Datia (and descendant of Bir Singh Deo Bundela). In the Deccan campaign the Bundela Raja served as Lieutenant of Zulfiqar Khan entitled Nusrat Jang, the distinguished general of Aurangzeb. His journal, **Nuskha i Dilkusha** (c. 1708-9) is very valuable for Mughal activities in the Deccan (1670-1707) and supplements the **Ma'asir i 'Alamgiri**. He looked at Aurangzeb's reign through the eyes of a contemporary Hindu. He 'knew the truth, and could afford to tell the truth'. He was free from the worst defects of official historians. He has supplied many things which are lacking in the complete official history of Aurangzeb's reign, viz. (1) causes and effects of events, (2) state of the country, (3) condition of the people, their amusements, (4) prices of food, (5) condition of roads, (6) social life of the official class and (7) incidents in Mughal warfare. For Maratha history

under Shivaji also it is of great value in spite of its somewhat defective chronology. Bhimsen gives a high tribute to Shivaji's genius for organisation.

Ishwardas Nagar, a Brahman of Patan in Gujrat (b. 1655) and a civil officer posted in Jodhpur, was the author of *Fatuhāt i Alamgiri* (1731). Till 1685 he served Shaikh ul Islam, Chief Qazi of the empire. As the latter accompanied the Emperor in camp and court, the author had ample opportunity of knowing correct facts from the chief officials directly or from their servants. Subsequently he served under Shujaet Khan, Viceroy of Gujrat, 1684-1701. It gives an account of Aurangzeb's reign up to his 34th year, and is specially useful for Rajasthan history 1657-98.⁴³

Finally with Sujan Ray's *Khulasat ut Tawarikh* 'the history of Hindu India from the beginning was devetailed into the history of Muslim India.'⁴⁴

The limitations of the Hindu writers in Persian were pointed out long ago by Sir H. Elliot forcefully and bitterly. Firstly, they partook of the usual deficiencies of Muslim historians. Secondly, they do not throw light on 'the feelings, hopes, faiths, fears and yearnings' of the oppressed Hindus. Thirdly, they were apt to write 'according to order or dictation' and 'every phrase is studiously and servilely turned to flatter the vanity of an imperious Muhammadan patron'. Fourthly, they were 'wedded to the set phrases and inflated language' of the conquerors', saturated with the customary idiom, forms and epithets of Muslim writers.⁴⁵

A different impression is given by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, while describing the works of Ishwardas Nagar and Bhimsen Burhanpuri. 'The great importance of these writers lies not only in their looking at the reign through the eyes of contemporary Hindus but also in their living near enough to the great Mughal officers to learn the historical events of the time accurately, but not near enough to the throne to be lying flatterers.'⁴⁶

4. *General characteristics of Mughal Historiography*

Out of these different channels in which Indo-Persian historiography flowed, some were traditional and some were distinctive. In the first place, the general histories of Muslim India by Nizamuddin Ahmad and Abdul Qadir Badauni were the first

definite exponents of the new Indian tradition that grew up under the Mughals. In the second place, the official chronicles of particular reigns constituted a novel feature of the Mughal age. Thirdly, the local and regional chronicles for each independent or semi-independent dynasty and each province, though less extensive than the general chronicles, reproduced the main features of Mughal historiography. But the memoirs introduced by the Timurides and contrasting with the formal chronicles, constituted 'the most original feature of Indo-Persian historiography'. These were written by members of royal family as well as by private persons. Lastly, biographical literature witnessed some development during this period. To the pre-existing literary biography (e.g. of poets) was added historical biography.⁴⁷

A change is also discernible in the type of history and class of writers of historical literature in the Mughal age. Royal autobiographers (Babur and Jahangir), memoir-writers (Mirza Haidar Dughlat, Gulbadan and others), official historiographers (Abul Fazl, Abdul Hamid Lahori, Muhammad Kazim and Muhammad Saqi Mustaid Khan), non-official historians (Nizam uddin or Abdul Qadir Badaoni) differ from the writers of the Sultanate period in social status, class, outlook, idiom and approach. The element of personal gain, getting a reward of repaying a debt of gratitude receded into the background or at least was not so prominent now as in the previous period. Further, though the attitude of divine ordination in history is noticeable in this age, the humanistic aspect of history tended to be more marked and the divine causation less prominent in the Mughal period than in the preceding age. Further, the didactic element in history diminished in the Mughal age, when historians devoted more attention to events, actions and measures taken, political, administrative or military, and of their causes and effects than general morals or vague warnings. The most significant change was the secularisation of history in the Mughal age.⁴⁸

5. *Influence of European Scholars and Orientalists*

From the end of the 18th century a new influence was seen operating gradually, i.e., the influence of European scholars and orientalist living in India. It led to a change of method. But this topic falls beyond the scope of this work.⁴⁹

SECTION D : VALUE OF INDO-MUSLIM HISTORIES

About the value of Indo-Muslim medieval historical writings, opinions have differed. An ardent apologist of British rule, Sir Henry Elliot (1808-53) did not possess any high opinion of these, and held these to be "for the most part, dull, prejudiced, ignorant and superficial", and 'deficient in some of the most essential requisites of History'. About these he writes disdainfully :

'It is almost a misnomer to style them Histories. They can scarcely claim to rank higher than Annals . . . They comprise for the most part, nothing but a mere narration of events, conducted with reference to chronological sequence ; without speculation on causes and effects ; without a reflection or suggestion which is not of the most puerile and contemptible kind ; and without any observation calculated to interrupt the monotony of successive conspiracies, revolts, intrigues, murders and fratricides, so common in Asiatic Monarchies, and to which India unhappily forms no exception. . .

'If the artificial definition of Dionysius be correct, that 'History is philosophy teaching by examples', then there is no Native Indian Historian ; few have even approached to so high a standard. Of examples, and very bad ones, we have ample store ; though even in them the radical truth is obscured by the hereditary, official, and sectarian prepossessions of the narrator ; —but of philosophy, which deduces conclusions calculated to benefit us by the lessons and experience of the past, and offers sage counsel for the future, we search in vain for any sign or symptom. Of domestic history also we have in our Indian Annalists absolutely nothing, and the same may be remarked of nearly all Muhammedan historians, except Ibn Khaldun.⁵⁰

On the other hand, Major N. Lees held that notwithstanding some limitations of these he did 'not coincide in opinion with those who estimated as of little worth the large body of historical works. . . .'⁵¹

APPENDIX

*Historiography during the first half of
the Eighteenth Century*

The death of Aurangzeb was followed by weakening of the power of the monarchy, rise of various parties within the empire,

foreign invasions, rise of independent states and the increasing role of the Marathas, the Sikhs, the Rajputs, the Jats, Bundelas, the Anglo-French rivalry, finally leading to the rise of the English East India Company as a political power in Bengal. But even in its period of decline the eighteenth century has left a very rich legacy of literary and historical works, which serve as authorities for studying the history of the period. These may be grouped in practically the same categories as those of the preceding two centuries. Extracts from important Persian sources have been translated in Elliot and Dowson's monumental series of 'History of India' . . . Since then numerous other sources have been traced out by scholars. These are in different languages, — Persian, Marathi, Hindu, Punjabi (Gurumukhi), Urdu; besides several European languages. Besides the Cambridge History of India, vol. IV, and the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan Series (vol. VIII) the standard works of the period by modern authors like Irvine, Jadunath Sarkar, K. K. Dutta, Satish Chandra, Yusuf Husain, V. G. Dighe, N. K. Sinha, H. R. Gupta, Ganda Singh, and others contain valuable detailed bibliographies which may be consulted for details.

Here only the Persian sources are listed in a bare outline. But even this sounds like a roll of guns.

(A) *Official Records:*

The **Akhbarat i darbar i mu'ala** (Mughal court bulletins) virtually end with the deposition of Farrukhsiyar. The Jaipur State records (now in Bikaner) contain **akhbarat**, **farmans**, **hasbul hukms**, **parwanahs**, besides **Vakil** reports and business papers (c. 1707-23).

(B) *Official Histories:*

Bahadurshahnamah, the official history of the first two years of Bahadur Shah's reign, by Danishmand Khan (Nimat Khan 'Ali) covers 1707-9.

(C) *Chronicles:*

(a) *Works written by Muslim authors:*

(i) For the period from Bahadur Shah (1707) to Muhammad Shah (1748) there are besides the **Bahadurshahnamah**, **Jahandarnamah** by Nuruddin Faruqi Balkhi,

Jangnamah by Nimat Khan Ali, giving an account of the conflict between Farrukhsiyar and Jahandar, (Tr. by W. Irvine, JASB, 1900).

Tarikh i Farrukhsiyar by Md. Ahsam Ijad, an account of the minority and first four years of the reign of Farrukhsiyar.

Ibratnamah by Md. Harisi Mirza up to deposition of Farrukhsiyar. Ends 1721.

Ibratnamah by Sayyid Md. Qasim Lahori, account of the Timurides up to the fall of the Sayyids 1135/1722-23. Another version is **Ibrat Maqal** up to 3rd year of Muhammad Shah's reign excluding pro-Sayyid portions.

Tarikh i Shahdat i Farrukhsiyar wa Julus i Md. Shahi by Mirza Md. Bakhsh Ashub (foster brother of Md. Shah), wr. 1196/1782 describes the fall of Farrukhsiyar and the reign of Muhammad Shah up to 1747. Giving a detailed account of Persian missions at Delhi with copies of letters between the two courts, it is particularly valuable but the chronology is defective. E&D. viii.

Mirat i Waridat or **Tarikh i Chughtai** by Md. Shafi Warid, a general history up to 1734.

Tazkirat us Salatin i Chaghtaia or **Tarikh i Mughaliyah** by Md. Hadi Kamwar Khan, an account of the Timurids up to 6th year of Md. Shah's reign (1724), referring mostly to official appointments, transfers, etc.

Tazkirat ul Muluk by Yahya Khan, a brief general history up to 1149/1736-37, but very brief for later Mughal rulers (1712-36).

Tarikh i Hind by Rustam Ali (Shahabadi, wr. 1154/1741) up to 1153/1740. E & D. viii.

Ahwal i Khawaqin by Md. Qasim Aurangabadi, history of Aurangzeb's successors up to 1151/1758-9, 2 vols.

Muntakhab ul Lubab by Khafi Khan, 1729.

(ii) For the reigns of Ahmad Shah, Alamgir II and Shah Alam II there are.

Tarikh i Ahmad Shah, history of the reign of Ahmad Shah, probably by an eye-witness, anonymous (E&D viii).

Tarikh i Alamgir Sani (reign of Alamgir II) also anonymous (E&D viii).

Bayan i Waqai by Khwaja Abdul Karim Kashmiri 1166/1752-3 (E&D viii); Eng. Tr. by Gladwin ('Memoirs of Khojeh

Abdul Karim, Cal., 1788) and by Lt. H. G. Pritchard for Sir Henry Elliot (Ms. in Br. Mus.).

Ibratnamah (Book of Warning, written 1806) by Faqir Khair ud din Muhammad Allahabadi (1751-1827, munshi of James Anderson, Br. Resident at Sindhia's court at Delhi, 1783-4, and later a high officer of Prince Jahandar Shah, s/o Shah Alam II and an eyewitness of the 'chequered career and troubled times' of Shah Alam II (Rieu). Graphic details: valuable from 12th regnal year. E. D. Ross (JRAS 1902) dwells on the life and works of the author.

Shah Alamnamah by Ghulam Ali Khan of Lahore, s/o Bhikari Khan, vol. i (to 1761) printed Bibliotheca Indica, vols. 2 and 3 (mss.).

Waqai Shah Alam Sani (anon. ms. rescued by J. Sarkar in Patna and named **Delhi Chronicle** (during the Anarchy). Contains a diary of events at Delhi and reports (1738-98, with some missing leaves). Sarkar rates it very high and compares it with the old **Anglo-Saxon Chronicle** for 'artless truthfulness, exclusion of emotion or comment and accuracy of record' (Pr. IHRC, vol. 3, 1921); valuable for dates and events.

Tarikh i Ibrahimi by Ibrahim Khan (account of the Marathas) 1201/1786.

Tarikh i Muzaffari by Muhammad Ali Khan Ansari of Panipat, nephew of Shakir Khan (wr. c. 1800; E&D viii).

(iii) The most popular and best known among the contemporary works is **Siyar ul Mutakhkharin** (View of Modern Times), by Ghulam Husain Tabatabai of Patna, wr. 1782. Born in 1727-28 the author, descended from a cultured and educated Sayyid family, went to Murshidabad in 1732-33. He was at Patna with Alivardi from 1733 to 1743-44. He was subsequently employed as tutor to Shaukat Jang, 1749 (at Purnea). After the latter's fall he went to Benares. He regained his influence and took part in political affairs and military campaigns of the time, represented Mir Qasim with the Company in Calcutta and later employed by the latter in different assignments. Living far away in the eastern regions, he derived information from his father and uncles serving in Delhi and so the portions dealing with the Mughals and Oudh are useful. The value of the book lies in the fact that it is a very important general history of India 1707-82 with

a specially detailed account of Bengal and Oudh affairs from 1738. It contains a critical account of the government and policies of the East India Company there. It was translated into English by Raymond, a French convert to Islam (Haji Mustafa) (3 vols., 1789). Another translation is by J. Briggs (one vol. 1832). It was dedicated by 'Nota Manus' to Warren Hastings.

(b) *Works by Hindu writers:*

Tarikh i Muhammad Shahi or **Nadir uz Zamani** by Khushbal Chand (or Rai), munshi in Diwani office, Delhi (1741), mostly a compilation up to 17th year of Md. Shah's reign 1734-6; vol. I covers 1679-1719.

Ibratnamah by Kamraj (s/o Nain Singh). A general account from 1707-19.

Azam ul Harb by Kamraj. An account of Azam's reign (1707).

Tarikh i Faiz Bakhsh (or Farah Bakhsh) (history of the Ruhelas) by Shiva Prasad wr. 1190/1775-76 for General Kirkpatrick's brother Capt. Kirpatrick, E&D. viii (not to be confounded with **Tarikh i Faiz Bakhsh** of Faizabad).

Shahnama i Munawwar ul Kalam by Shiva Das of Lucknow, wr. 1209/1794 (up to the 4th year of Md. Shah's reign).

Chahar Gulzar i Shujai by Harcharan Das, an officer of Nawab Ali Kh. (of Delhi), wr. 1201/1787 (Sarkar Coll. National Library). Valuable for Shujaudaulah of Oudh.

Maasir i Asafi or **Maasir i Nizami** by Lachmi Narayan Khattri.

Tarikh i Shah Alam by Munna Lal (wr. 1811), E&D. viii.

D. *Memoirs:*

Nuskha i Dilkusha by Bhimsen Burhanpuri.

Tazkira i Ahwal: Memoirs of Sheikh Ali Hazin (Belfour).

Tazkirah or **Tarikh i Mubarak Shahi** by Iradat Khan (Mirza Mubarak ullah, completed 1126/1714; covers 1703-13. Tr. into English by Jonathan Scott as *Memoirs of Eradut Khan*, 2 vols., 1794.).

Tahmasnamah, Memoirs of Tahmas Khan (Miskin) Muham ud daulah Itiqad Jang, successfully serving Mir Muin ul

Mulk, Mughlani Begam, Zain Khan of Sirhind, and Zabita Khan Ruhela (wr. 1780). (E&D viii).

Tazkirah i Shakir Khan, s/o Amir Shamsuddaulah Lutfullah Kh. B. Sadiq (of Panipat), governor of Delhi at the time of Nadir's invasion (1179/1765). (J. Sarkar Colln. Nat. Lib.).

Tazkirah i Anandram (Mukhlis), E&D viii. Ends. 1748. Author was s/o Raja Hirde Ram Khatri of Lahore. Writer and poet, he was appointed wakil for Qamaruddin Khan and also for Abdus Samad Khan.

Tazkirah i Imad ul Mulk dealing with the Empire (1754-58).

E. *Biographical works*:

It is sometimes difficult to draw a hard and fast line of distinction between the chronicles and biographical literature of the period, the former dealing with the life and work of some prominent personality. Thus the histories dealing with the Emperors like Bahadur Shah, Azam, Jahandar, Farrukhsiyar, Muhammad Shah, Ahmad Shah, Alamgir II, Shah Alam II may also be regarded as constituting biographical works, and need not be repeated here.

There are two standard biographical dictionaries of the eighteenth century : (i) **Maasir ul Umara** (Lives of Mughal perrs) by Shah Nawaz Khan and his son Abdul Hayy, and (ii) **Tazkirat ul Umara** by Kewal Ram, already mentioned earlier.

Besides these there are lives of poets etc. '(i) **Khazanah i Amira** by Ghulam Ali Azam (Bilgrami), wr. 1763 (information about Emperors Alamgir II, Shah Alam II, Safdar Jang, Imad and Marathas) repeated in his **Sarv i Azad**; (ii) **Safinah i Khushgu**.

For Nadir Shah, we have **Tarikh i Jahankusha i Nadiri** by Mirza Mahdi Ali Khan, Secretary of Nadir Shah (wr. 1758); **Memoirs of Shaikh Ali Hazin** (Belfour); **Tazkirah of Anandram**; **Delhi Chronicle**; **Muhsin b. at Hanif Siddiqi Bijnori**, **Jauhar i Samsam** (E & D. viii); and other works.

For Ahmad Shah Abdali, there are **Bayan i Waqai** by Abdul Karim Kashmiri (1752-3); **Mujmil ut Tawarikh pas az Nadir** by Abul Hasan Ibn Muhammad Amin Gulistani wr. 1782 (ed. by O. Mann, 1896; partial translation by J. Sarkar, in *Modern Review*, vol. 5, 1929); Author's uncle was in service of Nadir Shah.

Imad us Saadat by Ghulam Ali.

Halat i Amdan i Ahmad Shah Durrani das Hindustan dar, 1169 A.H. by Shaikh Ghulam Husain (Samin) (present during fourth invasion). Eng. tr. by Irvine (Ind. Ant. 1907).

Jang Namah by Qazi Nur Muhammad (invasion, 1764-65), Ed. and Eng. tr. by Ganda Singh.

Ahwal i Jang i Bhau wa Ahmad Shah Durrani by Kashi Raj Pandit (1780); Eng. Tr. by James Browne 1791 (Asiatic Researches, vol. iii, 1799) defective ; reprinted by Oxford University Press 1926 by H. Rawlinson. Account of last battle of Panipat, by Jadunath Sarkar, IHQ, 1934.

Tarikh i Husain Shahi (or **Tarikh i Ahmad Shah Durrani**; 1213/1798) by Imam ud din al Husaini (Durrani history).

For Nizam ul Mulk the section on Regional Histories may be seen.

F. *Statistical, Topographical or Descriptive Accounts:*

Muntakhab ut Tawarikh by Jagjivan Das (wr. 1708), giving useful statistics of all provinces in 1707.

Khulasat ut Tawarikh by Sujan Rai Bhandari of Batala (1695) and **Chahar Gulshan** or **Akhbar un Nawadir** by Chatarman Rai (1759) serving under Wazir Imad ul Mulk supply useful statistical and biographical data (both partially translated by Jadunath Sarkar in **India of Aurangzib**, (1901).

Waqai Sarkar Ranthambhor wa Ajmer.

Tarikh i Lahore by Rai Bahadur Kanhaiya Lal (in Urdu).

Manazil ul futuh by Md. Jafar Shamlu, accompanying Ahmad Abdali to India,—an account of different stages from Quandahar,—Ghazni, Kabul, Peshawar, Lahore, Delhi and battle of Panipat (E&D viii).

Chahar Chaman by Daulat Rai, 1820.

Ibratnamah by Mufti Aliuddin of Lahore, 1854.

G. *Letters:*

Correspondence constitutes a very valuable and reliable source of history, giving the actual history without any proneness to flattery or eulogy.

Letters of Abdullah Khan : (a) **Ajaib ul Afaq**, mostly relating to 1712 ; (b) **Balmukund namah**, written on his behalf by his munshi Mehta Balmukund (Pat. Univ. Ms.), dealing mainly with

1719-20. Translated and edited by Satish Chandra, text by Abdur Rashid, Aligarh Muslim University, 1972, as *Letters of a King-maker of the 18th century*.

Khujistan Kalam letters of Md. Khan Bangash ed. by Sahib Rai. Valuable for military affairs.

Insha i Gharib by Lala Ujagar Chand Ulfat.

Insha i Madho Ram ed. by Madho Ram.

Khatut i Shivaji: contains three letters of Shahu to Nizam ul Mulk Asaf Jah I.

Siyasi Muktubat by Shah Waliullah.

There are two epistolary compilations valuable for history of Bengal and Bihar during mid-18th century. (i) **Dastur ul Insha** compiled by Munshi Vijayram (Lucknow, 1769) containing letters of Rajah Ramnarain to the Nawab and his officers and also of his brother Rajah Dhiraj Narain, (ii) **Dastur ul Insha**, compiled by Munshi Shaikh Yar Muhammad Qalandar (c. 1757).

Two historical letters by Asaf Jah I. Text and Tr. by Jadunath Sarkar, in *Islamic Culture*, 1941.

Letters of Nizam ul Mulk to Muhammad Shah (after defeating Mubariz). Tr. by W. Irvine, in *Asiatic Miscellany*, 1885.

Murasalat i Ahmad Shah Durrani. Correspondence between Ahmad Abdali, Emperor Shah Alam II, Ruhela Afghans and Rajput rulers, 1173-76/1759-62.

H. *Regional Histories*:

With the rise of independent states we have several regional accounts.

(i) The Punjab and the Sikhs:

The general sources for the Mughal empire also yield materials for the Punjab. There are excellent bibliographies in Irvine (**Later Mughals**), N. K. Sinha (**The Rise of Sikh Power**), H. R. Gupta (**History of the Sikhs, Studies in Later History of the Punjab**), Khuswant Singh (**History of the Sikhs**) and Ganda Singh (**Banda Bahadur, Ahmad Shah Durrani**). Special mention may be made of the following:

Ahwal i Adina Beg Khan, attributed to a contemporary Sodhi (Guru) of Kartarpur.

Haqiqat i Bina O Urui i Firqa i Sikhan wrongly attributed to Timur Shah, s/o Abdali (Ganda Singh). Tr. by I. Banerjee, IHQ, 1942.

Jang Namah by Qazi Nur Muhammad, wr. 1765. Ed. and tr. by Ganda Singh, 1939.

Khalsa Namah by Diwan Bakht Mal, 1225-29/1810-14.

Tarikh i Punjab by Ahmad Shah of Batala, 1820.

Tarikh i Sikhan by Khuswaqt Rai (till 1811), agent and intelligencer of E.I.C. at Amritsar, written for Sir Charles Metcalfe.

Umdat ut Tawarikh by Sohan Lal Suri, vols. 1 and 2 (1812). The author was the chronicler of Ranjit Singh : earlier part based on records of his own father serving Ranjit's father and grandfather.

... **Zafar Namah i Muin ul Mulk** by Ghulam Muhiuddin, 1162/1749.

The Gurumukhi and Marathi sources (SPD. vols. 2, 6, 21, 25, 27, 29, 38, 39; 40; 45 : Rajwade vols. 1 and 6) and English sources may be seen.

(ii) Oudh and the Rohillas :

One may profitably consult the bibliographies in A. L. Srivastava's **First Two Nawabs of Awadh** and **Shuja ud Daulah** besides the general sources on the Mughal empire. Special mention may be made of :

Imad us Saadat by Sayyid (Mir) Ghulam Ali Khan Naqvi wr. c. 1807 (mostly Oudh and Bengal history, Maratha, Abdali and Shuja ud daulah).

Ahwal i Najib ud daulah by Sayyid Nuruddin Hasan, serving Wazir Ghazi ud din Imad ul Mulk, wr. c. 1773. Eng. Tr. by J. Sarkar, IHQ and Isl. Culture, 1933-34.

Tarikh i Faiz Bakhsh, already mentioned, throws light on the Rohillas.

Gulistan i Rahmat by Mustajab Khan (1792) Eng. tr. by Sir C. Elliot, Life of . . . Hafiz Rahmat Khan (1831) E&D viii.

(iii) Bengal, Bihar and Orissa :

Riyaz us Salatin by Ghulam Husain Salim, wr. 1788. Eng. tr. by M. Abdus Salam.

Tarikh i Bangalah by Salimhllah, wr. 1763, tr. by Gladwin.

Ahwal i Mahabat Jang by Yusuf Ali, wr. c. 1767. Ed. by Abdus Subhan (Bib. Ind.).

Waqai Fath Bangalah.

Muzaffarnamah by Karam Ali, wr. 1772 (Eng. tr. by J. Sarkar, BPP, and Bengal Nawabs).

The Bibliographies in J. Sarkar, *History of Bengal* (vol. 2), Abdul Karim, *Murshid Quli Khan and His Times* and K. K. Datta, *Alivardi and His Times*, may be consulted for details.

(iv) Gujrat and Malwa :

Mirat i Ahmadi by Md. Ali Khan, ends 1761. There is an excellent bibliography in Raghubir Sinh, **Malwa in Transition**.

(v) Hyderabad :

For the career of Nizam ul Mulk before 1724 sources given in Irvine, *Later Mughals*, and J. Sarkar in *CHI*, IV, may be consulted with profit. Thereafter we have three writers in Nizam's service, Khafi Khan, Ghulam Ali Azad (**Khazana i Amira**) and Shah Nawaz Khan (**Maasir ul Umara**). Besides there are :

Maasir i Asafi or **Maasir i Nizami** by Lachmi Narayan Khatri, a hereditary revenue official (wr. 1792-3).

Hadiqat ul 'Alam (vol. 2) (best Persian source) by Mir Abul Qasim Mir Alam (minister) ends 1739 : completed 1802.

The Marathi sources (e.g. newsletters from the court, despatches of officers, reports of Peshwa's agents) yield new information regarding the activities and the campaigns of the Nizam. There are several mss. in Asafiya Library and **Daftar i Diwani**, Hyderabad, listed by Yusuf Husain in his book **The First Nizam** :⁵²